

A reconsideration of the historical works associated
with Symeon of Durham: manuscripts, texts and
influences

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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Title of Thesis A reconsideration of the historical works associated
..... with Symeon of Durham: manuscripts, texts and influences.

Symeon of Durham's reputation as a historian, at a peak in 1882-5, when Thomas Arnold produced for the Rolls Series a two-volume edition of the Opera Omnia, rests in particular on his supposed authorship of the early twelfth-century Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae and Historia Regum. Symeon's responsibility for the works is not certain, as he is credited only in late twelfth-century rubrics which should be regarded as additions not intended by the main scribes. The manuscripts containing these rubrics, CUL Ff.1.27 and CCC 139, originated, at least in part, in Durham and not in Sawley, as usually thought. The traditional assumption that CUL Ff.1.27 shared a common origin with CCC 66 must moreover now be abandoned. Liège University Library MS 369 C should also be seen as a product of Durham rather than Kirkstall, and can be dated 1124 x 1128 rather than late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The annals it contains thus, contrary to conventional opinion, predate the text of the Historia Regum found in CCC 139. Other evidence supports the conclusion that in the twelfth century the Durham community supplied several neighbouring houses, notably Fountains, with manuscripts and exemplars.

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Preface

Episcopal dates are taken from John le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, corrected and continued by T.D. Hardy, 3 vols (Oxford 1854). Where possible, for example for Durham and Canterbury, I have used John le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, II, Monastic Cathedrals (Northern and Southern Provinces), compiled by D.E. Greenway (London 1971). Dates of abbots and priors are taken from David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and V. London, The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216 (Cambridge 1972).

For the sake of convenience, the reproductions from CUL Ff.1.27 and Liège University Library 369C have been made to A4 size, though regrettably this produces some falsification.

My thanks are due to the librarians of the institutions whose manuscripts I consulted, especially to Dr R.I. Page, librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for kindly depositing Corpus 66 in Cambridge University Library for comparison with CUL Ff.1.27. For help on specific points I am grateful to Mr Malcolm Baker, Professor G.W.S. Barrow, Dr Martin Brett, Professor R.B. Dobson, Dr A.I. Doyle, Dr V.I.J. Flint, Miss Meryl Foster, Professor Denys Hay, Mr Alan Hood, Dr N.R. Ker, Professor H.S. Offler, Mr Alan Piper and Dr Victoria Tudor. These debts are acknowledged individually where appropriate. Above all I must thank Mr Derek Baker for his invaluable supervision, encouragement and advice.

Abbreviations

- AA : Archaeologia Aeliana (Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1822-)
- AB : Analecta Bollandiana (Brussels 1882-)
- Arnold : Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, ed Thomas Arnold, 2 vols RS 75 (London 1882-5)
- Asser : Asser's Life of King Alfred, together with the Annals of St Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser, ed W.H. Stevenson. New impression with article on recent work on Asser's Life of Alfred by Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford 1959)
- Baker, 'MS 139' : Derek Baker, 'Scissors and paste: Corpus Christi, Cambridge, MS 139 again; SCH 11 (1975) pp 83-123
- Blair : P.H. Blair, 'Some Observations on the "Historia Regum" attributed to Symeon of Durham', in Celt and Saxon, ed N.K. Chadwick (Cambridge 1963) pp 63-118
- BL : British Library
- Boase : T.S.R. Boase, English Art 1100-1216 (2 ed Oxford 1968)
- CCCC : Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
- CCCO : Corpus Christi College, Oxford
- CUL : Cambridge University Library
- Dodwell : C.R. Dodwell, The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200 (Cambridge 1954)
- DPSA : De Primo Saxonum Adventu
- DUJ : Durham University Journal (Durham 1876-)
- Dumville : D.N. Dumville, 'The Corpus Christi "Nennius"', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 25 (1972-4) pp 369-80
- EHR : English Historical Review (London 1886-)
- EYC : Early Yorkshire Charters, ed W. Farrer and C.T. Clay, 12 vols (Edinburgh and Wakefield 1914-65)
- Gransden : Antonia Gransden, Historical Writing in England c. 550-c.1307 (London 1974)

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Hardy : T.D. Hardy, Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, 3 vols RS 26 (1862-71)

HCY : Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops, 3 vols RS 71 (1879-94)

HDE : Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, attributed to Symeon of Durham

Hinde : J.H. Hinde, Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea I, SS 51 (1867)

HR : 'Historia Regum', attributed to Symeon of Durham

HRH : David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and V. London, The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216 (Cambridge 1972)

James, Corpus : M.R. James, A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 2 vols (Cambridge 1912)

JEH : Journal of Ecclesiastical History (London 1950-)

Kauffmann : C.M. Kauffmann, Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190 (London 1975)

Ker, Catalogue : N.R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford 1957)

Ker, English Manuscripts : N.R. Ker, English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest (Oxford 1960)

Ker, Medieval Libraries : N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (2 ed London 1964)

Knowles, MO : David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (2 ed Cambridge 1963)

Life of Ailred : Walter Daniel, Life of Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, ed F.M. Powicke (London 1950)

MA : Medium Aevum (Oxford 1932-)

MGH : Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Berlin, Hanover 1826-)

Mynors : R.A.B. Mynors, Durham Cathedral Manuscripts (Durham 1939)

ns : new series

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Offler, Charters : H.S. Offler, Durham Episcopal Charters 1071-1152, SS 179 (1868)

Offler, 'Historia Regum' : H.S. Offler 'Hexham and the Historia Regum', TAASDN ns 2 (1970) pp 51-62

Offler, Medieval Historians : H.S. Offler, Medieval Historians of Durham (Durham 1958)

PL : Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina, ed J.P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris 1844-64)

Raine, Hexham : The Priory of Hexham I, ed J. Raine, SS 44 (1864)

Roger of Hovedon : Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene, ed W. Stubbs, 4 vols RS 51 (1868)

RS : Rolls Series. Rerum Brittanicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, 99 vols (London 1858-1911)

Scammell : G.V. Scammell, Hugh du Puiset (Cambridge 1956)

SCH : Studies in Church History (London 1964-)

Scrip. Tres : Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, ed J. Raine, SS 9 (1839)

SHR : Scottish Historical Review (Edinburgh/Glasgow 1904-)

SS : Surtees Society (Durham 1835-)

TAASDN : Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland (Gateshead 1928-)

TCWAAS : Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society (Kendall 1874-)

Todd and Offler : J.M. Todd and H.S. Offler, 'A medieval chronicle from Scotland', SHR 47 (1968) pp 151-9

TRHS : Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (London 1838-)

Twysden : Roger Twysden, Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem (London 1652)

Part 1

Introduction: Symeon himself

Symeoni monacho venerabili, servo Dei, et sanctissimi
presulis Cuthberti Dunelmensis ecclesie precentori, S(igarus)
presbyter indignus, in Christo salutem. Domne frater,
visionem adolescentis Orm, quam nuper eductus de corpore
vidit et, post dies XIII reductus et, sicut dicebat, ab
angelo iussus, mihi soli innotuit, ut pecieratis, iam nunc
per domnum Aldredum fratrem vestrum vobis transmittito,
veniam postulans tarditatis quam mihi tum artis gramatice
ignorantia, tum ingenii contulit hebitudo.¹

In these humble terms the Yorkshire village priest Sigar addressed Symeon of Durham soon after 1125. Sigar was seeking Symeon's approval of the account he had written of a vision experienced by Orm, a young parishioner. The Vision of Orm survives only in a late twelfth-century manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library Fairfax 17),² but its text represents the earliest extant acknowledgement of Symeon as a literary figure. Two other late twelfth-century manuscripts, CUL Ff.1.27 and CCC 139, which credit him with authorship of, respectively, the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae and Historia Regum, are chiefly responsible for Symeon's lasting reputation as a historian. Before examining these manuscripts and these major works, to which the study which

¹ 'The Vision of Orm', ed H. Farmer, AB 75 (1957) pp 72-82, at p 76.

² There was once another copy in BL Add 38817. See below p 23.

follows is largely devoted, it is necessary to consider the total alleged output of Symeon as a historian.

In the sixteenth century, Bale included the following entry in his Index:

Simeon monachus Dunelmensis, scripsit ad Hugonem decanum
Eboracensem, De archiepiscopis Eboraci,
De obsidione Dunelmi,
Passiones Ethelberti et Ethelredi,
Atque alia nonnulla.

Historia suavis memorie Simeonis monachi et precentoris Dunelmi de regibus Anglorum et Dacorum, et creberrimis bellis, rapinis et incendijs eorum post obitum venerabilis Bede presbyteri fere vsque ad obitum regis primi Henrici, filij Guilhelmi Nothi qui Angliam acquisivit - id est cccc.xxix annorum et quatuor mensium,

Extendit historia vsque ad A.D. 1130.

Epistolas ad Elmerum,

Simeonis Dunelmensis historia de regibus Anglorum,

Abreviationes Guilhelmi Malmesburiensis.¹

Apart from the Epistolas ad Elmerum, which have not survived, Bale's list seems to have been derived entirely from knowledge of CCC MS 139. The letter to dean Hugh on the archbishops of York appears in this manuscript (fols 50^V-52^R) and the author names himself in the text: ego Symeon, servorum S. Cuthberti servulus (Arnold I. p 226). The De obsidione Dunelmi also occurs in CCC 139 (fols 52^R-53^V) but it is not attributed to Symeon, and there seems no

¹ John Bale, Index Britanniae Scriptorum, ed R.L. Poole and M. Bateson, in Anecdota Oxoniensia (1902) p 408.

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basis for Bale's assertion.¹ The Abreviationes Guilhelmi Malmesburiensis to which Bale referred may be the extracts from the Gesta Regum of William of Malmesbury which appear in CCCC 139 fols 160^r-163^v. The other references in Bale's list all seem to be to the Historia Regum contained in CCCC 139, though it ends in 1129, not A.D. 1130, which may possibly suggest that Bale's source was a manuscript close to 139 rather than 139 itself. The Passiones Ethelberti et Ethelredi form part of this miscellaneous body of material,² and it is interesting that Bale saw them as forming a distinct section.³ His reference to the Historia suavis memorie Simeonis monachi ... was probably a transcription of the rubric in CCCC 139 fol 53^v,⁴ and historia de regibus Anglorum was probably Bale's title for the Historia Regum.

Bale did not mention the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, but in the seventeenth century Twysden printed this work from CUL MS Ff.1.27, and followed the manuscript in attributing it to Symeon. The Historia Regum he also attributed to Symeon.⁵ Included in this first printed edition of works attributed to Symeon was a preface by Selden, expressing doubts about Symeon's authorship

¹ See Arnold I pp 215-20, and a study of the piece in SHR 55 (1976) pp 1-19.

² Arnold II pp 3-13.

³ See Blair pp 78-82; below pp 110-2.

⁴ See below p 109.

⁵ Twysden cols 1-68, 85-256.

of the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae and suggesting that it had been written by Turgot, prior of Durham from 1087 to 1109.¹

In the eighteenth century, Rud took issue with Selden, made the point that CUL Ff. 1. 27 included the earliest reference to an author, and reinstated Symeon as author of the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae. In particular, Rud pointed out that the work could not have been written by prior Turgot, since the author claims that it was written at the suggestion of his superiors - majorum auctoritate jussus (Arnold I p3).²

In the nineteenth century, little doubt was left that Symeon had been a copious writer. One volume was issued by the Surtees Society, another was planned, and two Rolls Series volumes commemorated Symeon's name and reputation.³ Other works included in these editions were not credited to Symeon by the editors, but confusion has occasionally arisen. Talbot implied that Symeon had written the De Miraculis et Translationibus of St Cuthbert, and Page referred to 'Symeon of Durham's Libellus de primo Saxonum vel Normannorum adventu'.⁴ There is nothing to suggest that Symeon wrote either piece, beyond the fact that they appear in the

¹ Ibid pp I-XXVI.

² Thomas Rud, Disquisitio de vero auctore hujus Historiae Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, in T. Bedford, Symeonis Monachi Dunhelmensis Libellus (London 1732) pp i-xxxv.

³ Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea I, ed J.H. Hinde, SS 51 (1867); Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, ed T. Arnold, 2 vols RS 75 (1882-5).

⁴ C.H. Talbot in Sacris Erudiri 11 (1960) p 269; R.I. Page in Nottingham Medieval Studies 9 (1965) p 75 n 19; this piece is usually known as the De Primo Saxonum Adventu.

Rolls Series editions. Gransden discussed the account of the 1104 translation of St Cuthbert found in Arnold I pp 247-61 and noted that 'this work has been attributed to Symeon'.¹ There is no manuscript authority for this statement, and Gransden referred to Hinde and to Arnold.² But though both editors made tentative suggestions in favour of Symeon, who was present in 1104, it seems unlikely that he composed an account of the translation. Reginald of Durham's statement has generally been ignored, that none of those who witnessed the translation committed the experience to writing. Immediately after his description of Symeon's reaction to seeing the body of Cuthbert, Reginald noted that

Qui suis auditoribus Dei magnalia retulere, et quaedam etiam eis secreta planius detexere: quae omnia tamen noluere scriptis inserere. Nos vero ea describere dignum duximus, dulce habentes nosse perfectius ea quae non vidimus; ac posteris ea nota facere quae quibusdam incerta fore cognoscimus.

As Powicke suggested, Maurice of Durham is a likely author of the account of 1104.⁴

At various times, therefore, Symeon has been credited with writing the following works:

- (1) Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae (HDE), printed in Arnold I pp 3-135

¹ Gransden, p 116.

² Hinde p xlv; Arnold I pp xii-xiii, xxxi-xxxii and n 1.

³ Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti virtutibus, ed J. Raine, SS 1 (1835) p 84.

⁴ F.M. Powicke, 'Maurice of Rievaulx', EHR 36 (1921) pp 17-29, at p 20.

- (2) Historia Regum (HR), printed in Arnold II pp 3-283
 - (3) letter to dean Hugh of York on the archbishops of York, printed in Arnold I pp 222-8
 - (4) the tract De obsessione Dunelmi, printed in Arnold I pp 215-20
 - (5) letters to Elmer, which have not survived. Arnold suggested that Symeon's correspondent was 'probably the prior of Christ Church of that name, who, according to Gervase of Canterbury, died in 1137'.¹
 - (6) De Miraculis et Translationibus of St Cuthbert, including the account of the translation of 1104, printed in Arnold I pp 229-61.
 - (7) De Primo Saxonum Adventu, printed in Arnold II pp 365-84.
- As already suggested, there is no reliable evidence that Symeon was responsible for numbers (4), (5), (6) and (7) in this list. There is, however, twelfth-century manuscript evidence that he wrote numbers (1), (2) and (3). The letter to dean Hugh can probably be attributed to him without hesitation, since the reference to the author - ego Symeon - occurs in the body of the text as well as in the rubric in CCCC 139 fol 50^v. The nature of the evidence for his involvement in the HDE and HR is not, however, so trustworthy. The HDE is anonymous in the two earliest surviving copies, Durham University Library Bishop Cosin's Library MS V. ii. 6 and BL Cotton MS Faustina A.v. and in the fourth surviving copy, Durham

¹ Arnold I p xv.

Dean and Chapter Library MS A.IV. 36. The third copy, the late twelfth-century CUL Ff.1.27, is the first to ascribe the work to Symeon. CCCC 139, in rubrics which are verbally very similar to those in Ff.1.27, credits Symeon with the 'Historia Regum'. No other manuscripts such as Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, nouv. acq. lat. 692 or BL Cotton Caligula A.viii, which contain texts related to the Historia Regum as it is found in CCCC 139, mention an author. These rubrics in Ff.1.27 and 139 have been the cause of some controversy, and are examined in detail below. It is generally held that the two manuscripts in which they occur were written at the Cistercian abbey of Sawley in Yorkshire and that the rubrics in both manuscripts are all in the same hand. These are conclusions I do not support, though I agree that the rubrics show signs of a common composition. It seems to me that the rubrics all represent additions not necessarily intended by the scribes of the texts of which the rubrics mark the beginnings and ends.¹ One rubricator may possibly have been influenced by the other, but whether Symeon wrote the HDE and/or HR is very much open to question. Hinde pointed out some internal inconsistencies which make it difficult to see Symeon as author of both works. For example, both include descriptions of the ceremony in 1093, when the foundations of the new cathedral were laid; but whereas the HR notes the participation

¹See Blair pp 74-6 and below pp 60-3, 109-15

of Malcolm III of Scotland, the HDE omits all mention of the king.¹ On balance, there are more grounds for supposing Symeon to have written the HDE than the HR. CUL Ff.1.27 was, I argue below, written in Durham and given to another, probably northern house, perhaps Sawley, and it seems possible that it was considered desirable to identify the author outside but not inside Durham. In addition, as Offler pointed out, Symeon is mentioned in another manuscript, Holkham Hall 468 fol 3^r (thirteenth-century), and his name may have been erased from the heading in York Cathedral MS XVI.I. 12 fol 99^r (fourteenth-century).² Both these volumes, however, are too late to be of great value as evidence in favour of Symeon.

But though it will never be known for sure whether Symeon wrote the HDE or the HR, there is firm evidence that he was a literary figure and a man of some standing. The letter of Sigar is important here, both because it was sent for Symeon to form a literary judgement of the author's work, and because, like CUL Ff.1.27 and CCC 139, it addressed him as 'precentor', which, as Knowles suggested, may be taken almost as a synonym for 'scholar'.³ It may have been simply a courtesy title. Certainly there is no evidence from Durham itself that he held the position. Perhaps

¹ Arnold I p 129, II p 220; Hinde pp xxvi-xxx.

² Offler, Medieval Historians p 20 n 8.

³ Knowles, MO p428.

significantly, Reginald of Durham's account of the 1104 translation of St Cuthbert noted the status of every participant except Symeon:

Quorum haec nomina sunt. Turgotus Prior, Alduinus Subprior, Leofwinus, Wikingus, Godwinus et Osbernus Sacristae, Henricus et Willielmus cognomento Havegrim, utrique Archidiaconi, et Algarus postea Prior, ac Symeon.¹

Writing late in the twelfth century, Reginald confirmed Symeon's standing among his contemporaries,² and gave the only glimpse there is of him in action. With a candle in his hand and tears in his eyes, Symeon was apparently overcome by the occasion:

Corpore sancto tapetiis et palliis superposito, Symeon, qui cereum cum candelabro tenuit, fluentibus lacrimis sanctus illis pedibus oscula satis dulcia semper impressit.³

Nothing else positive is known about Symeon, though, on the basis of the assumption that he wrote the HDE and the HR, Hinde and Arnold felt able to make some more deductions. In particular, Arnold, followed by Knowles, was convinced that Symeon had been one of the monks at Jarrow resettled in Durham in 1083 by bishop William of St Carilef.⁴ The idea originated with Rud, who concluded that Fuit ergo Symeon inter Monachos Gyrwenses, priusquam Dunelmi traducti sunt.⁵ Rud quoted from the HR the passage in which the Durham monks stated their claim to the church

¹ Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti virtutibus, ed J. Raine, SS 1 (1835) p 84.

² Symeon was also considered important enough to have his obit recorded in the twelfth-century Durham Cathedral Library MS B.IV.24; see Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, SS 13 (1841) p 146.

³ Reginald p 84.

⁴ Arnold I pp x-xi; Knowles, MO p 167.

of Tynemouth:

Wlmarum quoque, nostrae congregationis monachum, aliosque per vices fratres, qui ibidem officia divina peragerent, illuc de Gyra^W transmissos meminimus ... postremo, cum Albrius honorem comitatus suscepisset, ipse quoque nobis in Dunelmum translatis eundem locum donavit. ¹

Even conceding Symeon's authorship of the HR, it is, however, probably a mistake to think that whenever he used the first person plural he was speaking personally. It is at least as likely that in this case the memories were those of a community stressing links with its immediate past. The same explanation might apply to the following, from which Hinde and Arnold both deduced that Symeon had heard the choir at Durham in bishop Walcher's time:

Unde tota nepotum suorum successio magis secundum instituta monachorum quam clericorum consuetudinem canendi horas, usque ad tempus Walcheri episcopi, paterna traditione observavit, sicut eos canentes saepe audivimus, et usque hodie nonnullos de illa progenie narrantes audire solemus. ²

Hinde suggested that Symeon was resident in Durham before the community moved from Jarrow, Arnold that since Jarrow is only fifteen or sixteen miles away, Symeon could often have travelled to Durham to hear the music.³ Again, it cannot be taken as certain that Symeon, even if author of the HDE, was speaking personally. It may, however, be valid to see a connection between this interest in the choir and Symeon's later conjectural position

¹ Arnold II pp 260-1.

² Ibid I pp 57-8.

³ Hinde p vii; Arnold I p x.

as precentor. The conviction that Symeon was at Jarrow led Arnold to seek confirmation of this elsewhere in the HDE; since he dwelt on the motives of those who resettled Jarrow, 'Symeon may probably be regarded as one of these fervent neophytes from the south',¹ and the following eulogy on Aldwin, who came from Winchcombe to Jarrow and became first prior of Durham, provoked the unlikely observation that 'It is surely the natural inference from these words that Symeon himself was one of the monks whom Aldwin brought up with him from the south':²

Cujus memoriam ut in suis orationibus monachi Dunhelmenses indesinter agant, ipse meritis suis omnino exigit, quem praevium in ipsam provinciam ducem habuerunt, ubi exemplo³ illius et magisterio habitantes Christo servire coeperunt.

This conclusion of Arnold's really does seem something of a non-sequitur, but he was not deterred by this, or by the knowledge that Symeon's name, standing thirty-eighth in the list of monks in the earliest manuscript of the HDE, Durham University Library Bishop Cosin's Library V.ii.6 fol 7^{r/v}, was not among those first twenty-three monks who came to Durham from Jarrow.⁴ The explanation that occurred to him was that

during his stay at Jarrow, Symeon was, either from his own


¹ Arnold I p xi.

² Ibid p 127 n.

³ Ibid p 127.

⁴ See SCH 12. (1975) p 57.

desire, or because Aldwin wished to test his vocation more thoroughly, a "clericus inter monachos degens", as Turgot (p. 111) had been before him, and that he was not regularly professed till two or three years after the establishment of the monastery at Durham, i.e. till 1085 or 1086. If we suppose him to have been about twenty-five years old at the time of his profession, his birth will fall towards the year 1060; this is also Mr. Rud's opinion. ¹

It is  not possible to prove that Symeon was not at Jarrow, but the evidence that he was seems, in short, extremely unreliable, and conjectures on his date of birth based on this premise must be regarded with suspicion; likewise suggestions that Symeon 'must have been an old man by the time he finished the Historia Regum, and probably died about 1130'.² It must be stressed that the dates of Symeon's birth and death are not known, and that the only dates which can be established with certainty are 1104, when he attended St Cuthbert's translation; 1104 x 9, when his name was inscribed in Cosin's MS V.ii.6 fol 7^v;³ and after 1125, when the Vision of Orm was dedicated to him, and when, in all probability, he was a man of some age and standing. Everything else is conjecture though it is possible to fix an approximate date for the letter to dean Hugh on the archbishops of York. Clay noted that Hugh occurred as dean in 1093, 1108, 1113-14, 1132 and on several occasions in the period 1119-35.⁴ Symeon's letter can be placed

¹ Arnold I p xii.

² Ibid p xv

³ See below pp 37-8.

⁴ C.T. Clay, 'Notes on the Chronology of the Early Deans of York', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 34 (1939) pp 361-78; idem, York Minster Fasti I, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 123 (1958) p 1. Blair (p65) is probably wrong in referring to two dean Hughs.

only at some date within these limits. The manuscripts of the letter are of little help. The twelfth-century CCCC 139 fols 50^v - 52^r ends on archbishop Roger of Bishopsbridge (1154-81). The fifteenth-century BL MS Cotton Titus A.xix ends on archbishop Thurstan (1119-40). The later manuscript certainly seems to represent an earlier text, but not necessarily the original one.

In all, twelve references to Symeon survive from the twelfth century. Three of these - Cosin's MS Vii.6 fol 7^v, the Liber Vitae fol 42^r,¹ and Durham Cathedral Library MS B.IV. 24 - record his name only. He is mentioned in two literary works written by others, Reginald of Durham's Libellus on St Cuthbert, and Sigar's Vision of Orm. The other seven references come from two manuscripts discussed at length below, CUL Ff.1.27 and CCCC 139. The three references in Ff.1.27 all occur in rubrics to the HDE. In CCCC 139, three rubrics mention Symeon, two of these at the beginning and end of the HR and one in the incipit to the letter to dean Hugh. The remaining reference is in the letter itself, where Symeon names himself as author. Since the rubrics in these manuscripts should be treated with great caution, it is curious that out of two bulky Rolls Series volumes bearing his name, only one brief work can be ascribed to Symeon with apparent certainty.

More than their putative author, it is the works themselves,

¹Liber Vitae Dunelmensis, facsimile edn, SS 136 (1923).

especially the HDE and HR and the twelfth-century manuscripts, which now require attention and reconsideration.

Part 2ManuscriptsIntroduction: the problems of ascertaining structure, date and origin

Caution must be the keynote of any attempt to analyse the structure, date or origin of a medieval manuscript, since doubts and uncertainties abound in all of these areas.¹ Though much of what follows may seem truistic, it would be well to assert the principles on which the manuscript descriptions which follow are based.

Structure

It is difficult to know with certainty whether existing manuscripts are complete. BL Add 38817, a twelfth-century copy of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, has every appearance of being complete between fols 5 and 92. Fol 92 is the last of the gathering, it has been left blank, and its verso shows signs of wear. Yet, a list of contents in a twelfth-century hand on fol 4^v noted several pieces after the Bede which are not now in the volume but which must have appeared after fol 92, since the writer showed concern that the contents be listed in the correct order.² Clearly BL Add 38817 had a brief, separate existence before being

¹ General problems are indicated in L.M.J. Delaissé, James Marrow, John de Wit, Illuminated Manuscripts. The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor (published for the National Trust by Office du Livre, Fribourg, Switzerland, 1977) pp 13-20.

² In front of the last two items the scribe has written b and a, to indicate the order in which the pieces appear.

joined later in the century to other, roughly contemporary gatherings from which it is now detached. Though few manuscripts have such a helpful list of contents, many twelfth-century books should probably be regarded as, or at least be suspected of being, composite, not only those books broken up and unsympathetically bound in unconnected sections by Sir Robert Cotton, a 'vicious habit' deplored by M.R. James.¹ The view that the gathering or collection of gatherings should be regarded as the basic unit has long been a commonplace of manuscript studies,² but is not always borne scrupulously in mind. A reassertion of this principle has been applied to CCCC 139, a key manuscript in any discussion of Symeon of Durham.³ One hindrance can be the state of modern binding, occasionally too tight to allow satisfactory conclusions on where gatherings separate or where leaves have been inserted or removed. This is evident in the controversy between A.O. Anderson and Denholm-Young over the former's edition of the Chronicle of Melrose (BL Cotton Faustina B.ix), where the only final conclusion is that the rebinding of the 1930s has ended, at

¹ M.R. James, The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts (London 1919) p 82.

² See G.S. Ivy, 'The Bibliography of the Manuscript-Book', in The English Library before 1700, ed F. Wormald and C. E. Wright London 1958, pp 32-65, at pp 51-5; C.E. Wright, 'The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries and the Formation of the Cottonian Library', ibid pp 176-212, at pp 204-5.

³ Baker, 'MS 139'.

least for the lifetime of the binding, the possibility of agreement on such a basic question as the number of gatherings in the manuscript.¹

Origin

Several of the manuscripts discussed below are assumed to have been written at the house whose ex libris they bear. Ker, who has made the origins of manuscripts a study particularly his own, has warned of this trap.² Galbraith, however, felt that at times Ker was

in danger not so much of confusing as identifying the monastic library with its scriptorium... the writing 'traditions' of particular scriptoria are extremely problematical in an age when society was organised more on horizontal lines of occupation, than on perpendicular lines of nationalism. Professional scribes moved about very freely in twelfth-century Europe.

3

However inadvertently, Ker's indispensable guide to medieval libraries has helped to perpetuate false assumptions about the origins of some important manuscripts discussed below such as CCCC 66 and 139, CUL Ff.1.27 and Liège University Library 369 C. Ker noted that marking a book with an ex libris was a practice common only in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and then only in Cistercian and Augustinian houses.⁴ Thus an ex libris later

¹ MA 5 (1936) pp 129-31, and 6 (1937) pp 72-6.

² Ker, Medieval Libraries p xx.

³ V.H. Galbraith, MA 30 (1961) p 112. Linda Brownrigg, 'Manuscripts containing English decoration 871-1066, catalogued and illustrated: a review', Anglo-Saxon England 7, ed Peter Clemoes (Cambridge 1978) pp 239-66, at p 261 is not correct in claiming that 'In the twelfth century the provenance of a manuscript is a fairly reliable indication of where it was written'.

⁴ Ker, Medieval Libraries p xvi.

than the date of the manuscript might indicate that it was only at this date that the volume came into the possession of the house named. This clearly so in the case of, for example, CCCO 81, a twelfth-century volume with the fourteenth-century ex libris of the Augustinian friars at York, or Edinburgh University Library 101, a twelfth-century copy of Gregory the Great's de miraculis sanctorum, which bears the fifteenth-century ex libris of Sweetheart, the Cistercian house in Kirkcudbrightshire. The manuscript was obviously written elsewhere, as Sweetheart was not founded till 1273.¹ Alternatively, where, unlike Sweetheart, the date of the house allows a late ex libris might still have been added to a book which never moved from its place of origin. No certainty is possible in the case of manuscripts with late ex libris such as Trinity College Dublin 45 (Byland), Trinity College Dublin 226 (Kelso), Corpus Christi College Oxford 224 (St Mary's York), St John's College Cambridge 46 or Jesus College Cambridge 38 (both Hexham); and many twelfth-century manuscripts like Jesus College Cambridge 14 and 23, probably written in Durham, had the ex libris added only much later.² Doubt is next to being removed only when an ex libris was written by the scribe of the

¹ C.R. Borland, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library (Edinburgh 1916) pp 159-60; I.B. Cowan and D. E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland (2 ed London 1976) p 72.

² In Jesus 23, however, traces of erasure under the ex libris on fol 1^r may suggest a different origin.

rest of the manuscript or section. In this way it can be said CUL Gg 3.33, Trinity College Cambridge 1076, that CUL Kk.4.15 and Bodleian Library Oxford Laud misc 216 were written at, respectively, Roche, Byland, Louth Park and Kirkstall, though the formal possibility remains that they were commissioned elsewhere.

Nor can origin often be ascertained by reference solely to artistic considerations, especially not by reference to the plain-er initials which, with varying degrees of ornamentation, appear in most twelfth-century manuscripts, often alongside inhabited or historiated initials. Alexander's essay seems only a start to the work which remains to be done on these initials.¹ Alexander has suggested 'arabesque' as a general term, but there are as yet no standardised terms to describe the component motifs used in the ornamentation.² Mynors attempted to describe the initials of this sort found in Durham manuscripts. Some characteristics he insisted were perhaps not to be regarded, in the

¹ J.J.G. Alexander, 'Scribes as artists: the arabesque initial in twelfth-century English manuscripts', in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries. Essays presented to N.R. Ker, ed M.B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London 1978) pp 87-116. The technique employed by Sonia Patterson, 'Comparison of Minor Initial Decoration: a Possible Method of showing the Place of Origin of Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts', The Library fifth series 27 (1972) pp 23-30 may also have application to earlier manuscripts.

² L.N. Valentine, Ornament in Medieval Manuscripts (London) 1965), a glossary of terms, is little help. Anthony G. Petti, English literary hands from Chaucer to Dryden (London 1977) p 8 discusses the absence of generally accepted terms in many aspects of palaeography.

present state of knowledge, as exclusive to Durham.¹ Mynors' suspicion that the characteristics of most non-inhabited Durham initials can also be found in books from other houses seems well confirmed. For example, 'clove-curl' ornament appears not only in Durham initials but also in, among many others, CUL Gg.3.33 (from Roche) and CUL Kk.4.15 (Louth Park).² A form of capital I which Mynors thought exclusive to Durham, found in BL Harley 4124, CUL Ff.1.27 and BL Cotton Caligula A.viii, also appears in, for example, Emmanuel College Cambridge 17, from the Premonstratensian house of Barlings in Lincolnshire.³ Alexander has noted that Temple had found the 'split-petal' motif in manuscripts throughout northern England.⁴ It is possible that the northern houses learned some techniques from Durham, though Durham itself was artistically not a great innovative centre.⁵ But proof is lacking, and it appears simpler to conclude that a basic vocabulary of ornamentation was available in most scriptoria. The initials of some manuscripts from northern Cistercian houses, on the other hand, are so plain as to prompt the assumption that they

¹ D. Talbot Rice, English Art 871-1100 (Oxford 1952) p 223 agreed with this. As Mynors pointed out (p 7), the 'frilled-curl' initial is found in its fullest development in the smaller initials of the Winchester Bible.

² Mynors p 8

³ See below p 149.

⁴ Alexander, 'arabesque initial' p 106

⁵ See the comments of Kauffmann pp 12, 121

were written at the houses whose ex libris they carry, particularly those written after 1152 and the Cistercian decree that initials should be plain and of one colour.¹ Jesus College Cambridge 34, Bibliothèque Nationale Paris fonds latin 15157 and Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, X.4.5.17 (early thirteenth-century), all from Rievaulx, and Emmanuel College Cambridge 86, from Holme Cultram, conform to this expectation that a Cistercian book should be unadorned. The first leaf of Bodleian Library Oxford Laud misc 310, from Fountains, shows, however, that the prohibition against multi-coloured initials was not obeyed with uniformity,² and several late twelfth-century books of considerable accomplishment are known to have been owned by northern Cistercian houses. Most notable is CCCC 66, though this was probably not written at Sawley, or indeed in any Cistercian scriptorium.³ CCCC 66, CUL Dd.7.16, which may have come from Kirkstead,⁴ and BL Royal 8.D.xxii (from Rievaulx) all employ gilding, which Boase implied was not found in Cistercian books after 1152,⁵ and some silver is used in BL Harley 3038, from Buildwas (Shropshire).⁶

¹Boase p 154. ²See Alexander, 'arabesque initial' pl 12b.

³See below pp 84-8. ⁴Ker, Medieval Libraries p 107 ⁵Boase p 155.

⁶See C.R. Cheney 'English Cistercian Libraries: The First Century' in Medieval Texts and Studies (Oxford 1973) pp 328-45, at p 331. Dodwell commented that some Cîteaux and Clairvaux manuscripts from the period are 'very beautiful in appearance' and that Troyes Bib. Mun. 458, one of the most lavishly decorated, traditionally belonged to St Bernard himself. Dodwell (p109n6) listed illuminated Cistercian manuscripts in the BL; see below p 87 ~ 2.

Dating

Likewise, artwork can seldom be dated with precision,¹ especially as it is not always certain how soon after the scribe the artist got to work, or even if the place of illumination was always necessarily the same as the place of writing. Generally, it seems safer to apply date of hand to artwork, rather than vice versa. The problem lies in assessing dates of hands with confidence. As Ker has pointed out, certain documents, such as mortuary rolls or 'annals and chronicles which look as if they have been written in one hand and at one time up to a certain date and then from year to year or at short intervals'² can be dated with some precision. Manuscripts like Durham University Library Cosin's V.ii.6 or Liège University Library 369 C, which can be dated by reference to episcopal lists written in one hand down to a certain name and continued in a series of near-contemporary hands, form, I believe, similar palaeographical anchors around which comparisons can be made. The great problem is that such comparisons are inevitably subjective, and cannot always take into account questions like the age of the scribe and whether an old man might be using the forms of his youth. Knowles contended that when

numbers dwindled, or when, as in the later twelfth century, administrative duties absorbed so much of the energies of

¹See Dodwell's warning, in MA 41 (1972) p 138.

²Ker, English Manuscripts p 21.

the monks, the task of copying books no doubt fell solely upon the young monks and a few incapable or not desirous, of other employment.

If so, many scribes must have had an extremely long working life, a situation with clear implications for the dating of their work. Identifying changes of hand is also essentially subjective, and it is not always possible to decide where one scribe might be writing in different ways,² with different pens, under different pressures from heat, cold, light, or at different times.³

Conclusion

Indiscriminate cross-reference among hand, artwork, ex libris, rubrics and contents must be avoided. Ideally, as increasingly is recognised,⁴ more collaboration is needed among experts in particular areas of manuscript study, in order that different types of data might be assessed less independently than is usual now.

¹ Knowles, MO p 519.

² For a ninth-century example of a scribe using different styles on the one leaf, see John Williams, Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination (London 1977) pp 42-3.

³ Chronicle of Melrose facsimile edn, ed A.O. and M.O. Anderson (London 1936) p xxvi; Pavel Spunar 'Palaeographical Difficulties in Defining an Individual Script', Litterae textuales, Miniatures Scripts Collection: Essays presented to G.I. Lieftinck 4, ed J.P. Gumbert and M.J.M. De Haan (Amsterdam 1976) pp 62-8.

⁴ Linda L. Brownrigg, 'Manuscripts containing English decoration 871-1066, catalogued and illustrated : a review; Anglo-Saxon England 7, ed Peter Clemoes (Cambridge 1978) pp 239-66, at p 243.

Manuscripts describedHistoria Dunelmensis Ecclesiae

1. Durham University Library Bishop Cosin's Library V. ii. 6.
2. British Library Cotton Faustina A. v.
3. Cambridge University Library Ff.1.27, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 66.
4. Durham Dean and Chapter Library A.IV.36.

'Historia Regum' and 'De Primo Saxonum Adventu'

1. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 139.
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 692.
3. Liège University Library 369 C.
4. British Library Cotton Caligula A. viii.
5. British Library Cotton Domitian viii.
6. Oxford, Magdalen College 53.
7. Durham Dean and Chapter Library B.II.35.

Procedure

Each manuscript is discussed individually. The abbreviation used is given in brackets after each heading. Description, collation and list of contents are followed by a note of secondary references to the manuscript, and discussion of dating, provenance and structure. Interrelationships between manuscripts are noted briefly here, but in some cases are discussed later at more length. Measurements given include binding.

Durham University Library, Bishop Cosin's Library V.ii.6 (Cosin's)¹

Cosin's is the earliest manuscript of the HDE. It has long been a subject of controversy, and by some is regarded, at least in part, as an autograph manuscript.

Description and collation

113 fols; 295 x 182 mm; single columns.

The first gathering (fols 1-4) is unruled, and has 23 and 25 lines. Gatherings 2-12 are, respectively, of 6 (fols 5-10), 10 (fols 11-20), 10 (fols 21-30), 8 (fols 31-38), 8 (fols 39-46), 10 (fols 47-56), 10 (fols 57-66), 8 (fols 67-74), 8 (fols 75-82), 4 (fols 83-86), 4 (fols 87, 98-100), have 26 lines, and are ruled with a hard point. Gathering 13 (fols 88-97) is a sixteenth-century insertion. Gatherings 14 (fols 101-108) and 15 (fols 109-113) also have 26 lines, but are ruled with a plummet. Fol 109 is a sixteenth-century replacement for a leaf now lost.

Cosin's has no surviving gathering numbers or catchwords.

Contents

fols i-viii, Thomas Rud, Disquisitio de vero auctore hujus Historiae Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, printed in Bedford, Symeonis Monachi Dunhelmensis Libellus (London 1732) pp i-xxxv. This was written on paper and added in the eighteenth century.

1. fols 1^v-4^v, preface to HDE, from Regnante apud to restituit, printed in Arnold I pp 7-11.

¹ I am grateful to Dr A.I. Doyle of Durham University Library for discussing this with me.

2. fol 5^r/v, description of Lindisfarne, added in a sixteenth-century hand.
3. fols 6^r-8^v, lists of bishops and monks of Durham, with prefaces, printed in Arnold I pp 3-6. Fols 9^r-10^v have been left blank.
4. fols 11^r-98^r, HDE, from Gloriosi quondam to annus agebatur, printed in Arnold I pp 17-135.
5. fols 88^r-98^r, the De iniusta vexacione Willelmi episcopi primi, a sixteenth-century addition; printed in Arnold I pp 170-95, discussed by H.S. Offler in EHR 66 (1951) pp 321-41.
6. fols 98^v-102^r, continuation to HDE on bishop Ranulf Flambard, from Tribus de hinc to confirmavit restituta, printed in Arnold I pp 135-41.
7. fols 102^r-113^r, further continuation to HDE, including a further note on Flambard's death, and accounts of the episcopate of Geoffrey Rufus, the intrusion of William Cumin, and the consecration of bishop William of Ste Barbe; from Obiit to susceptus est; printed in Arnold I pp 141-60.

Secondary references

Catalogi Veteres Librorum Dunelmi, SS 7 (1838) pp 124, 147-50.

Thomas Rud, Disquisitio de vero auctore hujus Historiae Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, in Thomas Bedford, Symeonis Monachi Dunhelmensis Libellus (London 1732) pp i-xxxv.

Arnold I p xv.

Mynors pp 60-1.

J. Conway Davies, 'Bishop Cosin's Manuscripts, The Durham Philobiblon 1 (Durham 1949-55) pp 10-16 at pp 10-12.

Ker, English Manuscripts, pp 24-5, pl 8b

Gransden p 116.

Hands and dating

Rud thought Cosin's may have been written under Symeon's direction.¹

Arnold called 'probably the authentic and original text of the work'.² J. Conway Davies was more cautious,³ but Gransden declared it a 'partly autograph' manuscript.⁴

Though no final proof seems possible on the question of whether Cosin's is the original manuscript of the HDE, or stands at some remove from the original, closer dating boundaries can be suggested for the first hand (fols 6^r-7^v, 11^r-98^r), in which the bulk of the volume is written, than Ker and Mynors indicated. Ker dated Cosin's to the episcopate of Ranulf Flambard (1099-1128),⁵ Mynors more cautiously to 1109-1133, taking account of the five years between the death of Flambard and the consecration of bishop Geoffrey Rufus.⁶ Both were presumably influenced by

¹Rud p x.

²Arnold I p xv.

³The Durham Philobiblon 1 (Durham 1949-55) p 12.

⁴Gransden, p 116.

⁵Ker, English Manuscripts pp 24-5

⁶Mynors pp 60-1. In DW 44 (1951-2) p 24 n 13 J. Conway Davies dated it 'between 1110 and 1120', though he did not give any reasons.

the fact that on fol 6^v the list of Durham bishops goes down in the original hand to Rannulfus, and that on fol 6^r Rannulfum was probably the name of the bishop erased before the phrase qui in presenti est.¹ However, a study of the lists of monks in the house on fols 7^{r/v}-8^{r/v} shows that the original list, in this same first hand, can probably be dated within the same limits as the work itself, between August 24, 1104, the translation of St Cuthbert,² and August 1, 1109, the consecration of prior Turgot as bishop of St Andrews.³ Turgotus, prior 1087-1109, is written in the original hand on fol 7^r in majuscule, while his successors Algarus (1109-?1138) and Rogierius (?1138-1149)¹¹ appear on fol 7^v in miniscule. Clearly it was normal practice to distinguish the name of the incumbent by inscribing it in capital letters, since priors Laurentius (c 1149-1154) and Absalon (1154-1158) are also written in majuscule, in different hands and more than probably during their times as prior.

¹ Arnold I p 3. Rannulfum is added to the margin in an eighteenth century hand probably that of Thomas Rud. In the list on fol 6^v Willelmus (Carilef) is written in majuscule. See below pp 170-1.

² Referred to in HDE (Arnold I pp 34-5).

³ HRH p 43. Here and below I follow the dates in this book, and take episcopal successions to date from consecration rather than election. See Janet Cooper, The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York, Borthwick Paper no 38 (York 1970) p 24. The possibility remains, however, that the terminus ad quem of the work, and of the first hand in Cosin's, should be 1106/7, the date of Turgot's nomination as bishop of St. Andrews.

In this list of monks the original hand ends at Edmundus (no 73), and here I agree with Arnold rather than J. Conway Davies on where the original hand ends.¹ But Arnold was wrong in believing that the remaining names are all in a second hand, and Craster equally so in coming to the conclusion that the next fifteen names, from Aelfredus to Leviat...s, were also in the first hand.² In fact, after Edmundus a number of different hands can be seen on fol 7^v. Aelfredus and Normannus are written in a different hand; the alternation of red and blue for the capitals has been abandoned, and red of a different shade has been used for both AE and N. In previous and subsequent names, the final s has been detached, but not so in either case here, and the suffix of Normannus has been written using the normal terminal abbreviation. After these two names, the colouring of the capitals changes to the alternate red and green which is used throughout to the end of the lists on fol 8^v.³ The next eleven names are less easy to assess for changes of hand, since, though there are changes, the scribes are very close contemporaries. Thurstinus and Aidanus both begin with green capitals, which may mean that they were written separately, or may simply indicate a wish

¹ Arnold I p 6 and J. Conway Davies in The Durham Philobiblon 1 (1949-55) p 11.

² H.H.E. Craster, 'Additional Note on Laurence of Durham', SHR 23 (1926) pp 40-1.

³ This fact that the same shades of colour are used from this point may suggest that the capital letters were coloured only after all the names were written, up to fol 8^v, but as these shades are standard ones employed throughout the twelfth century in English manuscripts it is more probable that colouring followed fairly closely on writing.

to balance the two red capitals above. Certainly, it is far from easy to distinguish Thurstinus and Aidanus from the following six names, between Benedictus and Thomas, though there may be a change of hand between the two groupings. The following two names, Edwinus and Lambertus, seem to be in a different hand. A second ^{Thomas} at no 86, is, I think, in another hand, though it is difficult to be certain. Fulco and Leviat...s are without doubt, however, in a different hand. Tuoldus, Ricardus, Arnulfus, Ald...s¹ and Laurentius have been added together, very probably between c 1149 and 1154, when Laurence was prior. After Laurentius are four capital letters, G, Y, D and M, the other letters of the names having been erased. The capitals correspond to the first four names on fol 8^r, Willelmus (assuming that Guillelmus originally appeared on fol 7^v), Ysaac, David and Mauricius.² After the four capital letters, the last name on fol 7^v is Absalon, prior 1154-8, whose name is written in majuscule in another new hand.

¹ This appears as Aldredus in the similar but not identical list in the Durham Liber Vitae, SS 136 (1923) fol 42^v. In Cosin's there are traces of erasure, after Ald. This was probably the monk mentioned in the Vision of Orm; see AB 75 (1957) pp 72-82, at p 76.

² I am grateful to Dr Doyle for pointing this out to me.

Every name on fol 8^{r/v} is in the one, later twelfth-century hand, including Iacob (no 154),¹ an interlineation not noted by Arnold. It is interesting that at the foot of the first column of fol 8^r Rodbertus appears twice, but abbreviated in two different ways. This was perhaps an attempt to emphasise that two men of the same name did in fact enter the house at about the same time, and that the repetition was not a scribal error.

From the frequent changes of hand on fol 7^v it is clear that for a time after 1104 x 9 the names of new recruits were entered soon or fairly soon after arrival. The practice seems to have been discontinued after 1154-8, when Absalon was prior, though the concern with seniority remained, as can be seen from the careful lettering c, d, e, a, b, f above the names of Ricardus, Osmundus, Gilebertus, Gregorius, Petrus and Absalon on fol 8^v, in a hand perhaps identical, or at least very nearly contemporary, with that which wrote the names. The same hand has added a green cross above Iohannes (no 196). Dr Doyle has kindly informed me that Offler believes this to be the archdeacon whose dates he has established as c 1155-74.² It is possible that at

¹After 150, the numbering of the monks is one less than it should be. The numbers were added in the eighteenth century, probably by Thomas Rud, since they are in the same hand as the autograph copy of Rud's dissertation on the true author of the HDE, which attributes the work to Symeon and which is bound in at the beginning of the manuscript. It should be noted that Rud's number-proceeds by tens, except for the 38 written opposite Symeon.

²EHR 73 (1958) pp96-7.

this time archdeacon John was seen as being of higher standing than the prior, since the names of priors Thomas (?1161/2-3) and German (1163-89) are written in minuscule, like the other names in the list.¹

The main hand found on fols 6^r-98^r is the earliest in the manuscript. The first gathering (fols 1-4), which contains what Arnold called the 'epitome' of the HDE,² and which is distinct in appearance from what follows, is, in my opinion, in a hand of a decade or two later than the hand used on fols 6^r-98^r, and should be regarded as the second main hand.³

The third main hand, on the episcopate of Ranulf Flambard, is on fols 98^v-102^r, and as Mynors and Offler note,⁴ was probably added not long after Flambard's death in 1128.

The fourth main hand is on fols 102^r-113^r, and includes a further note on Flambard's death, and accounts of the episcopate of Geoffrey Rufus, the intrusion of William Cumin and the consecration of bishop William of Ste Barbe. The material may have been composed before Ste Barbe's death in 1152, though it is quite likely that the history of Geoffrey Rufus's episcopacy was composed earlier than this; but Mynors' date of 'probably not long after

¹ It may be noted that Thomas, if identified with the monk at no 190, professed later than German (no 179) yet became prior earlier.

² Arnold I pp 7-11.

³ The date of composition of this section may, however, be earlier than 1104; see below pp 174-5.

⁴ Mynors pp 60-1; Offler, Medieval Historians p 22 n 30.

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1144¹, for this fourth main hand seems on palaeographical grounds roughly fifty years too early.

Initials

The date 1104 x 9 which can be attributed to fols 6^r-98^r is of importance in discussion of the fine inhabited acanthus initials on fols 6^r, 7^r, 11^r and 77^v and which Mynors rightly compared to those in BL Cotton Faustina A.v. fols 25^r and 87^v and in Oxford, University College 165 fol 9^r, both Durham books from the first half of the twelfth century.²

On fols 98^v and 102^r less skilful coloured initials introduce the sections on bishops Ranulf Flambard and Geoffrey Rufus.

Though there is no verbal division of the work into books and chapters (except what was added in the eighteenth century), small coloured capitals mark the same divisions as in CUL Ff.1.27.

Relationships

Cosin's is the only manuscript of the HDE to contain the lists of monks in the house. Durham Dean and Chapter Library A.IV.36 is the only other twelfth-century manuscript of the HDE to contain the list of bishops.

The material on Flambard, Rufus, Cumin and Ste Barbe appears in a

¹ Mynors pp 60-1. J. Conway Davies echoed Mynors; see The Durham Philobiblon I (1949-55) p 11.

² On Oxford, University College, MS 165 see Kauffmann pp 66-7, Malcolm Baker, 'Medieval Illustrations of Bede's Life of St Cuthbert', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 41 (1978). and below pp 42-3, 257.

different version in CUL Ff.1.27. It is argued below that the accounts of Cumin and Ste Barbe in Cosin's may be later recensions of the versions in Ff.1.27.¹

The 'epitome' to the HDE on fols 1-4 does not appear in Cotton Faustina A.v, but does appear in Ff.1.27 and A.IV.36. As argued below, all these manuscripts were written in Durham. It may be suggested that Cosin's fols 1-4 were added to the manuscript sometime between the production of Faustina in 1104 x 9 and Ff.1.27 late in the twelfth-century. Since the 1421 catalogue of Durham books lists the second folio of Cosin's as et quam maxime (fol 12^r),² it might be thought that fols 1-4 (and also fols 5-10) were added later than 1421. There is, however, a fourteenth-century title on fol 1^r, Libellus de exordio et processu dunelmensis ecclesie, and the more likely explanation of why the fifteenth century cataloguer listed fol 12^r as the second folio of the manuscript is probably simply that he regarded the prefaces and lists of bishops and monks as extraneous to the main work. It has been suggested that the main hand of Cosin's (fols 6^r-98^r) and the main hand of University College Oxford 165 are the work of same scribe.³ So far as it is possible to be certain on such

¹ See below pp 58-9.

² Catalogi Veteres Librorum Dunelmi, SS 7 (1838) p 124.

³ Elżbieta Temple, 'A Note on the University College of St. Cuthbert', Bodleian Library Record 9 (1973-8) pp 320-2, at p 320.

matters, this proposal seems to me to be correct.

Erasures and text

There are a number of erasures in Cosin's, some more enigmatic than others. On fol 1^v appear the traces of an erased rubric of two lines above what is now the first line. It seems reasonable to suppose that this rubric may have mentioned an author, but the lines are unfortunately resistant to ultra-violet light.

Some erasures, on fols 45^v, 72^v, 79^v and 81^r, can be supplied by BL Cotton Faustina A.v.¹ Other erasures, on fols 6^r,² 35^r,³ 39^v-40^r,⁴ 63^v,⁵ had been made before Faustina was written.

Conclusion

Cosin's fols 6^r-98^r were written in Durham between 1104 and 1109. fols 1^v-4^v were written a decade or two later; fols 98^v-102^r were written soon after 1128; fols 102^r-113^r were written very late in the twelfth century.

¹ See Arnold I pp 70, 111, 122, 124; Offler, Charters pp 4-6; A.H. Thompson, DW 36 (1943-4) p 33.

² Between inveniant and itaque, not noted in Arnold I p 3.

³ Ibid pp 53-4.

⁴ Arnold (ibid p 61) noted that this is an erasure of one or two lines. In fact, from nam in domo to sufficient has been written in a different but almost contemporary hand over an erasure. I am grateful to Dr Doyle for pointing this out to me.

⁵ Arnold (ibid p 97) printed auferrent as one word, and so it appears in Faustina; but in Cosin's there has been a small erasure between au and ferrent. Perhaps the scribe in Cosin's originally wrote autem ferrent.

BL Cotton Faustina A.v (Faustina)

Faustina is the manuscript second in date of the HDE. It was once joined to Trinity College, Dublin, MS 114,¹ which is, however, a fourteenth-century book having no organic connection with the twelfth-century sections of Faustina.

Description and collation

110 fols, of which fols 1-24, 103-110 are in hands of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, and fols 99-102 are in a hand of the first half of the twelfth century. These fols constitute sections separate and distinct from fols 25-98 (HDE), and are ignored in the discussion which follows.

240 x 177 mm;

rebound 1950 s;

Single columns, 26 lines, ruled with a hard point;

four gatherings of 10 from fols 25-64; two of 12 from fols 65-88
another gathering of 10 from 89-98.

There are no surviving gathering numbers or catchwords.

Contents

fols 25^r-97^r, HDE from Gloriosi quondam to annus agebatur, as in Cosin's fols 11^r-98^r, and as printed in Arnold I pp 17-135. The

¹Ker, Medieval Libraries p 88; T.K. Abbott, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (Dublin and London 1900) p 14.

rubric reads: Incipit libellus de exordio atque procursu istius
hoc est dunelmensis ecclesiae. Fols 97^v-98^v were originally
left blank.

Secondary references

A Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, ed
J. Planta (London 1801) p 603.

Arnold I pp xvi, 70, 92, 111, 122, .

Ker, Medieval Libraries p 88.

Offler, Charters pp 4-6.

Hands, dating and relationships

Fols 25^r-97^r are in a hand very similar to Cosin's and the acanthus
initials on fols 25^r and 87^v are rougher, more muted versions
of the type found in Cosin's fols 6^r, 7^r, 11^r, and 77^v; and
correspond to the same letters as Cosin's fols 11^r and 77^v.

Faustina has retained several passages later erased from
Cosin's¹, including, crucially for the dating, the following on
fol 83^r:

Ipse est qui in locum magistri videlicet Aldwini
succedens, hodie in hac, id est Dunhelmi ecclesia
dudum sibi traditum a Willelmo episcopo prioratum
tenet.

2

Referring to prior Turgot of Durham, this passage was thus writ-
ten between the last event mentioned in the work - the trans-
lation of St Cuthbert in 1104 - and the departure of Turgot

¹See Arnold I pp 70, 111, 122, 124; Offler, Charters pp 4-6

²Arnold I p 111; Cosin's fol 72^v.

from Durham in 1109 to become bishop of St Andrews. Cosin's can also be dated between 1104 and 1109, but in Faustina fols 48^r, 52^v and 90^r gaps produced by erasure do not appear, thus indicating that Faustina was copied a little later than Cosin's.¹

Faustina lacks the material contained in the first two gatherings of Cosin's, the preface beginning Regnante apud and the lists of bishops and monks².

In Faustina there is no verbal division of the work into books and chapters, though coloured capitals mark the same divisions as in CUL Ff.1.27.

Provenance

On the basis of contents, hand and initials, it is clear that Faustina A.v was written in Durham.

Faustina bears a variety of ownership marks from the Cistercian abbey of Fountains in Yorkshire, including, in late medieval hands, the name of the abbey on fol 25^r and the pressmark on fol 98^v. On fol 25^r a late twelfth or early thirteenth-century hand inscribed Liber Sancte Marie de Fontibus, the usual form of ex libris for the period found in other Fountains manuscripts such as BL Arundel 217 fol 1^v and in many other Cister-

¹ Arnold I pp 53-4, 61, 123; Cosin's fols 35^r, 40^r, 80^v.

² Arnold I pp 3-11.

cian volumes including CCCC 66 and 139 and Liège University Library 369 C. On fol 97^v appears a fourteenth-century note:

Liber sancte marie de fontibus ex dono Willelmi de Coutton

quondam monachi de fontibus. On fol 98^v the ex libris of the

donor has been partially erased but is still legible under

ultra-violet light: hic est liber Willelmi de Coutton. Arnold

took the note on fol 97^v to mean that Faustina had been given to

Fountains by William de Coutton, prior of Durham from 1321 to

1340/1.¹ It is not certain whether this identification can be

sustained. There appears to be no further evidence that Cout-

ton made the unusual move from white monk to head of a house of

black monks. He was a close ally of prior Richard de Hoton in

the struggle with bishop Antony Bek and was imprisoned briefly

with Hoton in 1300.² The author of the Gesta Dunelmensia

knew him at this time as the procurator prioris et capituli.³

Robert de Graystones referred to him as Hoton's capellanus.⁴

In 1310 he was absolved from the excommunication incurred for his

part in the affair.⁵ Graystones made no mention of Fountains

in his account of Coutton's election as prior of Durham in 1321.⁶

¹ Arnold I p xvi n 1.

² Gesta Dunelmensia, A.D. M^oCCC^o, ed R.K. Richardson, Camden Miscellany 13 (London 1924) p 47.

³ Ibid p 32.

⁴ Scrip. Tres p 78.

⁵ Records of Antony Bek, Bishop and Patriarch 1283-1311, ed G.M. Fraser, SS 162 (1947) p163-4.

⁶ Scrip. Tres p 102

Nor did William de Chambre find a place for Fountains in recounting Coutton's death in 1341 and burial apud Dunelmum in coemiterio monachorum inter fratres.¹ Taken together, however, the ex libris on fols 25^r and 97^v/ 98^v are puzzling. If the book was in Fountains by the early thirteenth-century, how did it reach private hands by the fourteenth century? The problem may tentatively and perhaps fancifully be explained if Arnold was correct and if, having been given to Fountains in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, Faustina was appropriated as a personal possession by William de Coutton when a member of the Fountains community, perhaps some time before 1300, but was then returned to his old house after he became prior of Durham.

Conclusion

Faustina A. v was written in Durham between 1104 and 1109, and was given to Fountains, though exactly when and how often is not certain.

¹ Ibid p 130. Coutton's career does not feature in C.M. Fraser, A History of Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham 1283-1311 (Oxford 1957), or in R.K. Richardson, 'The Bishopric of Durham under Anthony Bek, 1283-1311', AA 3 ser 9 (1913) pp 89-229, or, beyond chronological details, in J. le Neve, Fasti ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300-1541 6 (Northern Province), ed B. Jones (London 1963) p 110, where Arnold's dates (1332-41) were corrected.

Ff.1.27 is the manuscript third in date of the HDE and is the first to attribute the work to Symeon.

Ff.1.27. and CCCC 66 are generally regarded as interrelated divided manuscripts, CCCC 66 and fols 1-110 of Ff.1.27 comprising one book, and CCCC 66A² and that part of Ff.1.27 between fols 20 and 21 and after fol 110 comprising another. This view can no longer be satisfactorily maintained, and the matter is discussed fully below.

Ff.1.27 itself may be divided, as traditionally recognised, into two distinct parts. Of these, the fourteenth-century Bury St Edmunds book found in the volume between fols 20 and 21 and after fol 110 is irrelevant to the discussion here and is ignored. In the discussion that follows, the foliation given for the twelfth-century section of Ff.1.27 is my own, as the pagination (pp 1-40, 73-252) is most confused.

Description and collation

110 fols; 303 x 212 mm; rebound 1967.

There are no surviving gathering numbers in the manuscript.

Gathering 1 (fols 1-10) is of 8 + 2 fols, written in double columns of 36 lines. Fols 1-8 are ruled with a hard point, fols 9 and 10 with a plummet.

Gathering 2 (fols 11-20) has 10 fols, written in double columns of 36 lines, and ruled with a plummet.

17 fols from the fourteenth-century Bury St Edmunds' book occur in the manuscript at this point.

Gatherings 3, 4 and 5 (fols 21-44) are of 8 fols each, written in double columns of 36 lines, and ruled with a hard point.

Gathering 6 (fols 45-49) is of 1 + 4 fols, written in double columns. Fol 45^v has 32 and 10 lines and is unruled; fols 46-49 are ruled with a hard point.

Gathering 7 (fols 50-57) has 8 fols, written in double columns of 36 lines, and ruled with a hard point.

Gathering 8 (fols 58-65) has 8 fols, written in double columns of 35 lines, and ruled with a hard point.

Gathering 9 (fols 66-73) has 8 fols, written in double columns of 36 lines and ruled with a hard point.

Gathering 10 (fols 74-81) has 8 fols, though originally had 10; the last two leaves have been removed. It is written in double columns of 36 lines, and is ruled with a hard point.

Gathering 11 (fols 82-85) has 4 fols, written in double columns of 35 lines and ruled with a hard point.

Gathering 12 (fols 86-94) has 9 fols, though originally had 10; the second leaf has been removed. It is written in double columns of 36 lines, and is ruled with a hard point.

Gathering 13 (fols 95-102) has 8 fols, written in double columns of 36 lines, and ruled with a hard point.

Gathering 14 (fols 103-110) has 8 fols, ruled with a hard point, and written mainly in double columns. Most fols have 43 lines, though some containing lists of kings have more.

Secondary references

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge 5 vols (Cambridge 1856-67) 2 pp 318-29.

Arnold I p xvi.

Hinde p lxxi.

James, Corpus 1 pp 138, 145.

Mynors pp 8, 42.

Blair pp 73-6.

Ker, Catalogue p 12.

Aethelwulf De Abbatibus, ed A. Campbell (Oxford 1967) pp x-xi.

Dumville p 371-8.

J.A. Watt, The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland (Cambridge 1970) p 13 n 3.

Contents

1. fols 1^r-10^v, Gildas, de excidio Britannie; printed in MGH Auct. Antiq. 13 (1898) pp 25-85.

2. fols 11^r-20^v; Nennius, Historia Brittonum; printed ibid pp 111-222.

17 fols from the fourteenth-century Bury book, containing Gildas, Historia Brittonum, occur at this point.

3. fols 21^r-42^v, Bede, De Temporibus.

4. fols 42^v-44^r, Bede, De capite mundi, De magno anno.

5. fol 44^v, extracts from William of Malmesbury: De hospite mutato in asinum; De capite statue loquentis.

6A. fols 45^v-81^v, HDE made up as follows:

fol 45^v, preface to HDE, printed in Arnold I pp 3-4;

fols 46^r-47^r, preface from Regnante apud to restituit.

as in Cosin's fols 1^v-4^v, printed in Arnold I pp 7-11;

fols 47^r-48^v, chapter headings to HDE, printed in Arnold I pp 11-16;

7. fols 47^v-49^v, genealogy of king Alfred, and brief account of kings of Northumbria, printed in Arnold II pp 389-93.

6B. fols 50^r-77^v, HDE from Gloriosi quondam to annus agebatur, as in Cosin's fols 11^r-98^r, printed in Arnold I pp 17-135.

8. fols 77^v, charter of king Ecgfrid of Northumbria on the privileges of the church of Lindisfarne, printed in R. Twysden, Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem (London 1652) cols 57-8.

9. fols 78^r-79^v, continuation to HDE on bishop Ranulf Flambard, from Tribus dehinc to restituta, printed in Arnold I pp 135-41.

10. fol 80^r, further note on death of Ranulf Flambard.

11. fols 80^r-81^v, further continuation to HDE, on Geoffrey Rufus, the intrusion of William Cumin, the election of William of Ste Barbe and the consecration of Hugh du Puiset. These passages are discussed below, pp 58-9.

12. fol 81^v, list of relics contained in church of Durham, printed in Arnold I pp 168-9.

13. fols 82^r-85^v, Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, printed in Arnold I pp 196-214.

14. fol 85^v, de situ Dunelmi, printed in Arnold I pp 221-2.

15. fol 85^v, charter of king Aethelstan.

16. fols 86^r-92^r, Aethelwulf, De Abbatibus, printed in Arnold I pp 265-94, and Aethelwulf De Abbatibus, ed A. Campbell (Oxford 1967). ff.1.27 mistakenly describes Aethelwulf as being

'lindisfarnensis'.

17. fol 92^{r/v}, de regibus et regnis et episcopatibus totius Anglie.
18. fols 93^r-94^v, miracles and vision. The rubric on fol 93^r reads, Miraculum inauditum de quodam die tempestuoso, de tribus militibus, de cineribus, de auibus et de monte bebio. On fol 93^v, Miraculum de stephano a demonibus raptio in monte bebio. On fol 94^r, Miraculum terrificum de primo henrico anglorum rege filio Willelmi. On fol 94^v, Visio cuidam cuiusdam monachi saugniensis.
19. fols 95^r-102^v, Richard of Hexham, de moderno et antiquo statu (Haugustaldensis) ecclesiae, printed in Raine, Hexham pp 1-62.
20. fols 103^r-105^v, Gilbert of Limerick, De statu ecclesiae, printed in PL 159 cols 995-1004.
21. fols 106^r-108^v, brief account of British kings from Aeneas to Cadwaladrus, and of the kings of Israel, Judah and Persia.
22. fols 109^r-110^v, brief account of kings of France to 1137, and list of English kings to Henry I.

Hands, structure, and relationships

Even disregarding the fourteenth-century Bury book which has been bound in the manuscript Ff.1.27 is clearly composite, and breaks down into three main sections which can themselves be subdivided. These sections are (1) gatherings 1-2 (fols 1-20); (2) gatherings 3-13 (fols 21-102); (3) gathering 14 (fols 103-110).

In the first of these sections (gatherings 1-2, fols 1-20), fols 1-8, which contain most of Gildas, de excidio Britannie,

seems to be an early replacement for a gathering now lost.

The ink is darker, and the hand appears to be perhaps two or three decades later than fols 9 and 10, which contain the end of the work, and which are in the same hand as fols 11^r-20^v (gathering 2, Nennius, Historia Brittonum).¹ Fols 1-8 are distinguished by being ruled with a hard point, whereas fols 9-20 are ruled with a plummet.

17 fols from the Bury book, containing Gildas, Historia Brittonum, occur in Ff.1.27 at this point and are ignored here. James failed to note this, and is mistaken in saying that the piece contains a 'Drawing of the sons of Noah'.² There is no such drawing in the manuscript.

The second main section comprises gatherings 3-13 (fols 21-102). Apart from the short pieces on fols 43^r-44^v, 77^v-81^v, 85^v, those gatherings are in the same hand or at least very similar and contemporary hands.³ Several subdivisions may be noted in this second main section, however, and it is likely that not all of its gatherings have always been bound together. There is no consecutive numbering of the gatherings to give them

¹Dumville (pp 371-2) noted that fols 11^r-20^v are 'a copy, with amplifications' of the text in CCC 139 fols 168^v-178^v. For the implications of this see below pp 116-8.

²James, Corpus 1 p 145

³Hinde (p lxxi) was of the opinion that the hand in Ff.1.27 fols 46^r-77^v was the same as in CCC 139 fols 54-126. Blair considered the question, but, after comparing the manuscripts side by side, declined to comment (p 76 n). I have not been able so far to see the manuscripts together, but working from photographs I feel that though the hands in these parts of Ff.1.27 and CCC 139 are very similar, they are probably not identical.

unity, and it is probably not without significance that the short pieces added on fols 43^r-44^v, 77^v, 81^v, 85^v occur at the end of gatherings, on what originally had been left as blank leaves.

Gatherings 3, 4 and 5 (fols 21-44) seem to form such a separate subsection. After Bede, De Temporibus on fols 21^r-42^v, the last two fols of gathering 5, fols 43-4, have been filled with short pieces by Bede and William of Malmesbury.

The HDE, its continuations and supplementary material in gatherings 6-10 (fols 45-81) form another subsection. Fol 45 is an inserted leaf of rougher quality parchment inscribed on its verso in a different though roughly contemporary hand. Between rubrics mentioning Symeon, fol 45^v contains part of the preface to HDE found in Cosin's fols 6^r and 7^r and printed in Arnold I pp 3-4, from Exordium to inueniant (p 3), and from Preterea to uiuentium (p 4), which follows without a break. This passage exhorts its readers to gain spiritual benefit from studying the list of monks which follows, though the lists do not in fact follow. An additional sentence not found in Cosin's reads:

Uerumptamen quibus non uacat uel legere plurime non ualent,
hoc si uoluerint legant, opus compendiosa breuitate poterunt
scire.

Gathering 6 (fols 63-66), which follows this inserted leaf, contains, again between rubrics mentioning Symeon, the preface to the HDE found in Arnold I pp 7-11, which forms, as I argue above, a gathering added to Cosin's sometime in the twelfth century.

¹Noted in Arnold I p 4 n 3.

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It also contains chapter headings to the HDE, which Arnold was 'inclined to think' were the work of Reginald of Durham, the author of the Life of St Oswald, Life of St Godric of Finchale and the Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti virtutibus; there does not seem, however, reason to think that Reginald was responsible for them.¹ The chapter headings are followed by the genealogy of king Alfred² and a brief account of the kings of Northumbria.

These items are all in the main hand, and it is difficult to understand why the scribe intruded extraneous material (on king Alfred and the Northumbrian kings) between the chapter headings to HDE and the text of HDE. The explanation may be that gathering 6 was not always joined to gatherings 7-10, as it is now.

The HDE as found in Cosin's from fol 11^r, Faustina from fol 25^r and Arnold I from p 17 starts in gathering 7, fol 50^r in this same main hand, and goes on to fol 77^v. It is bounded by more rubrics ascribing its authorship to Symeon; these rubrics are examined below.

After the HDE ends at annus agebatur on fol 77^v, space left at the foot of fol 77^{vb} has been filled in a later, though still twelfth-century hand with a charter of King Ecgfrid of

¹ Miss Victoria Tudor, who is working at Reading University on Reginald of Durham, has kindly told me that in her opinion Arnold's suggestion is wrong. She points out that stylistically the chapter headings are quite unlike Reginald's known work, and that the chapter headings to Reginald's Life of St Oswald (printed in Arnold I pp 326-85, at pp 330-7), to which Arnold compared the Ff.1.27 headings are not found in the earlier of the manuscripts containing the work (Bodleian Fairfax 6) but only in the later (BL Harl 4843). Miss Tudor feels that the chapter headings to the Life of St Oswald in Harl 4843 (sixteenth-century) were thus not the work of Reginald.

² This is verbally quite different from the genealogy which in Liège University Library MS 369 C and BLMS Cotton Caligula A.viii. forms part of the 'HR' and 'DPSA' material.

Northumbria on the privileges of the church of Lindisfarne.

The same scribe has written the continuation to the HDE on Ranulf Flambard from fol 78^r to fol 79^v. He has carried the account of Flambard only as far as the corresponding hand in Cosin's (the second main hand in Cosin's), confirmavit restituta (Arnold I p 141). But whereas Cosin's adds another paragraph on Flambard's death in the same very late twelfth-century hand responsible for the piece on bishop Geoffrey Rufus, Ff.1.27 has a similar though different addition:

Anno dominice incarnationis mcxxix Rannulphus episcopus dunelmensis moritur. Episcopatus sui anno xxix. Regni regis henrici xxvii. Eo defuncto committitur episcopatus dunelmensis duobus baronibus ad opus regis censum colligentibus. Uacavitque episcopatus per quinquennium. Eo tempore navis ecclesie dunelmensis monachis operi instantibus peracta est.

Ignored by Arnold, this has been added not to the foot of fol 79^v, where there was room for it, but to the top of fol 80^r (which is part of the same gathering as fol 79) in a different, though still twelfth-century, hand from what precedes and follows. Oddly, the passage dates Flambard's death 1129, not 1128 as found in other sources. The date 1129 does not, however, tally with the

¹The corresponding passage in Cosin's reads:
Obiit autem peractis in episcopatu xxix annis et tribus mensibus et septem diebus. Eo autem defuncto committitur episcopatus duobus baronibus, uidelicet Johanni de Amundavilla et Gaufrido seniori Esscotland, ad opus regis censum colligentibus. Uacavitque episcopatus per quinquennium excepto uno mense. Eo tempore navis ecclesiae Dunelmensis monachi operi instantibus peracta est (Cosin's fol 102^r; Arnold I p 141).

statements that the see was vacant per quinquennium and that Geoffrey Rufus was consecrated bishop in 1133.

This note on Flambard and the passage which follows in another new hand on Geoffrey Rufus are in hands which seem to be two or three decades earlier than the corresponding passages in Cosin's. It seems possible to suggest that as far as the end of the account of Flambard on fol 77^v, the HDE in Ff.1.27 was copied from Cosin's or an exemplar similar to Cosin's before the further note on Flambard's death and the account of Geoffrey Rufus's episcopate were added to Cosin's very late in the twelfth century. The account of Rufus in Ff. 1.27 is almost as in Cosin's,¹ but after this Ff.1.27 diverges, and the same scribe who wrote on Rufus goes on to a different version from Cosin's of the intrusion of Cumin, the election of William of Ste Barbe and the consecration of Hugh du Puiset.² The end of fol 81^v is filled in a large squat:late twelfth-century hand with a brief account of the relics contained in the church of Durham.³

The account of Cumin, Ste Barbe and Puiset in Ff. 1. 27 was described by Arnold as 'a much-abridged narrative'.⁴ Offler felt that the account is a 'not very skilled compression and re-writing' of what appears in Cosin's.⁵ It seems more likely,

¹ Arnold I pp 141-2.

² Ibid pp 161-8

³ Ibid pp 168-9

⁴ Ibid p 161 n a.

⁵ Offler, Medieval Historians p 22 n 30.

however, in view of the fact that the hand in Ff.1.27 fols 80^r-81^v is almost certainly earlier than the corresponding hand in Cosin's fols 102^r-113^r, that it is the Cosin's text which is a revision and expansion, though not a direct copy, of the version which appears in Ff.1.27.¹

Despite the identity or at least great similarity of hand, gathering 11 (fols 82-85) may be seen as another subdivision of the second main section. Its 4 fols have only 35 lines, which represents a break with the 36 line format of the preceding gatherings, gathering 8 apart, and the short pieces de situ Dunelmi and the charter of king Aethelstan have been added on fol 85^v in a hand later than the main hand responsible for the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto; this suggests that gathering 11, like other gatherings in the manuscript, may not have been immediately bound with the gathering which now follows.

Gatherings 12 (fols 86-94) and 13 (fols 95-102) may also be thought both to constitute separate subsections, though again they are written in the main hand of section 2. It may be significant that the works they contain, Aethelwulf's De Abbatibus and the material on fols 92^r-94^v, and Richard of Hexham's history of the church of Hexham each fit within a single gathering, and since there is no direct connection between these two works there was not necessarily any need to bind them together.

¹ It is a little surprising in view of the date of the hand in Cosin's fols 102^r-113^r that it makes no mention of the election of bishop Hugh du Puiset in 1153.

Gathering 14 (fols 103-110) is the third main section and is distinct from what precedes it. It contains three different main hands; on fol 103^r (the prologue to Gilbert of Limerick's De statu ecclesiae), on fols 103^v-105^v (the main text of the De statu ecclesiae), and fols 106^r-110^v (the genealogical material). Gathering 14's 43 lines to the page contrast with the 35 or 36 line format of the rest of the manuscript.

The three main sections and their subsections of Ff.1.27 can thus be presented as follows:

Section 1 comprises gatherings 1-2 (fols 1-20). Its subsections are (a) fols 1-8; (b) fols 9-20.

Section 2 comprises gatherings 3-13 (fols 21-102). Its subsections are (a) gatherings 3-5 (fols 21-44); (b) gatherings 6-10 (fols 45-81); (c) gathering 11 (fols 82-85); (d) gathering 12 (fols 86-94); (e) gathering 13 (fols 95-102).

Section comprises gathering 14 (fols 103-110).

Rubrics ascribing authorship to Symeon

Ff.1.27 is the first manuscript to ascribe the HDE to Symeon.

These rubrics read as follows: on fol 45^v: Incipit apologia

Symeonis monachi; Explicit apologia Symeonis monachi; on fol 46^r:

Incipit prefatio reuerendi symeonis monachi et precentoris ecclesie Sancti Cuthberti Dunelmi, in historia de exordio christianitatis et religionis tocus northumbrie, de fide et origine sancti oswaldi regis et martiris, et de predicatione sancti aidani episcopi;

on fol 50^r:

incipit historia sancte et suavis memorie SIMEONIS monachi
sancti cuthBERTI Dunelmi, de exordio christianitatis et
religionis tocius northumbrie, et de exortu et processu
lindisfarnensis sive dunelmensis ecclesie; (see accompanying
illustration)

on fol 77^V: explicit hystoria simeonis.

As Blair pointed out,¹ these rubrics, especially on fols 46^r and 50^r, are very similar in language to those in CCCC 139 which ascribe authorship of the Historia Regum to Symeon. Blair may have been correct in stating that 'There seems to be no room for doubt that all these rubrics were composed by the same person'.² But he is, I think, wrong in stating that the rubrics 'are all in the same handwriting'.³ Dumville also disagreed with this claim of Blair's. He felt that Blair's photographs of the rubrics in Ff.1.27 fols 46^r and 50^r and of CCCC 139 fol 53^v demonstrate 'very clearly the work of two different scribes'.⁴ Dumville did not say so precisely, but presumably meant that the scribe in CCCC 139 was responsible for one rubric, and that another scribe wrote the two rubrics illustrated by Blair from Ff.1.27. In my opinion, the rubrics in CCCC 139 are by a scribe who did not work on Ff.1.27, and the rubrics in Ff.1.27, apart from the two on fol 45^v, are in different hands, none of which can be claimed beyond doubt as the main hand of section 2. The

¹Blair pp 74-5.

²Ibid p 75.

³Ibid pp 75-6.

⁴Dumville p. 371 n 4. Blair's photographs face p 117.

CUL MS Ff.1.27 fol 50^r



Incipit hystoria
sec et suavis me
more sponsonis
monachi sci cuth
berti dunelm. de
exordio xpianita
tis et religionis tot
northumbrie. et de exortu

et processu lindisfarneſis siue dunelmſis
LORIOSI. quondam regis northumbrie
& p̄uosi martyris oſwaldi feruentis
fidei in xpo fide hęc scā ecclā uidelicet
q̄m laudē & p̄petuam sui tutelam.
ipsa sacre uenerationis reliquias in
corruptū scilicet sc̄ssimū p̄ris cyrren
ti corp. & eidem ^{regi} ac martyris caput
uenerandū int̄ unius loculi conser
uat hospicium: sui stat⁹ ac religioni
sacre sūp̄is exordiu. Licet enī causis
existentib⁹ alibi q̄m ab ipso sit locata:
nichilomin⁹ tñ stabilitate fidei. digni
tate quoq; & auctoritate cathedre pon
tificiali. statu etiam monachice habi
tationis q̄ ab ipso rege & aiaano ponti
fice ibidem instituta ē: ipsa eadē ecclā
deo auctore fundata p̄manet. Qm̄ ḡ
de ipsa q̄dam ueritate subnyta scribere
deceunt. q̄grum uideo ut de fun
datoris ipsi p̄fati scilicet regis inge
nita solum carne nobilitate pauca p̄
migan. Siq̄dē clari admodū nata
lib⁹. orv. n̄ solū p̄re sed etiam aui dig
nitate regia p̄cellentib⁹. fr̄e q̄p uno an.
duro n̄ p̄ illū regni apice p̄cellentib⁹.
Erat namq; fili⁹ potentissimū regis eob
dredi. cui p̄p̄ eobdredi rex. cui p̄p̄

ia rex. a quo ut bea. referu regis nor
thanymbroſū p̄p̄ia cepit originem.
Hec tñ patria sui & mat̄na quocori
gine clarissimā dixit genealogia ex
sorore uidelicet edwini regis p̄crea
tut. S. p̄genitorib⁹ fidei xpiane p̄mo
ignari. ille ut rosa de spinis effloruit
salutari utaq; fonte xpo regenerat⁹. atq;
ipsa sacra regeneratione dignissime ui
uent. Regno enim potu⁹: gentē sibi sub
dūā scū m̄p̄ xpo subdidit. utpote in
uerbo fidei pontifici aiaano soci⁹ & coop
ator existens egregi⁹. Pradicante namq;
in sua id: sectorū ling⁹ ep̄o: ille q̄ hanc
eq̄ ut suā p̄fete nouerat rex utq; re
gis p̄m munus deuot⁹ assilire. & fidus
int̄pres fidei ducib⁹ suis ac ministris mun
strare solebat. uerba salutis. Verū q̄t q̄n
dē fuerit. q̄nt⁹ ḡ fidei religionis deuoti
onē. q̄nt⁹ in pauper miserie ac benig
nitas. & q̄nt⁹ maxime int̄ curas regni
dedu⁹ orationē: q̄ & q̄nta p̄ mortē illi
ad iudiciū ei iā cū xpo uiuent⁹. clare
rū miracula: p̄distica genti anglorū
bea. desēbente declarat hystoria. Porro
h̄ nos id studiū occupat. ū ex h̄ sc̄ h̄o
sc̄l⁹ dunelmſis exordia. p̄cū. q̄p i p̄m
ta hystoria. alit̄ q̄p op̄culis inuenerit po
terat: ad memoriam p̄corū i unū exor
dine cōp̄ta. q̄dā libelli cōp̄tū p̄i
ciant. Nonnulla & q̄ defectu sc̄p̄onē
lūit n̄ fuerit: tūta. tēmonū aui ueritatis
latōe q̄nt̄ uiderit. t̄ ap̄t̄ h̄i uerit̄
gros fidei dignissimū q̄ inuenerit. t̄
audierit. ad n̄m notatū p̄uenerit. t̄
et n̄ ip̄a uiderit. t̄ q̄ ex alio sc̄p̄i collatū
t̄ aduigenda t̄uiderit.

rubric on fol 46^r may be in this main hand, but it is difficult to argue with certainty about this.

There are indications, moreover, that these rubrics, though all in hands closely contemporary to the text of the HDE, may be slightly later additions to Ff.1.27. Fol 45, on which the first mention of Symeon occurs, is an inserted leaf. As indicated above, there are reasons for believing that the gathering which follows, gathering 6 (fols 46-49), may not always have been associated with the text of the HDE which now follows it in Ff. 1.27; it seems odd that the scribe who wrote the chapter headings to the HDE in gathering 6 should have intruded the material on king Alfred and the kings of Northumbria between these chapter headings and the main text of HDE. It seems possible to argue that the rubric to Symeon of fol 46^r may have been added only after gathering 6 was bound together with gatherings 7-10 (fols 50-81). This hypothesis is supported by evidence that the rubric on fol 50^r was written later than the text. Not enough space has been left at the top of the first column of this folio for the elaborate initial G of Gloriosi and the rubric. It seems of significance that G is detached from loriosi, and that the final word of the rubric, an abbreviation of ecclesie, has had to be written in the margin between the two columns. This can be seen in the accompanying reproduction of fol 50^r which shows also that the main scribe started at regis, halfway along the first line of the text. Blair's photograph omits the word ecclesie, and does not demonstrate the inadequate space on fol 50^r available to the rubricator and the artist

of the initial G.

It is argued below that Ff.1.27 was written in Durham. In the light of the hypothesis that the rubrics were slightly later additions, and in view of the fact that other manuscripts of the HDE known to have been written in Durham (Cosin's, Faustina and A.IV.36) make no mention of an author, it may be suggested that the rubrics in Ff.1.27 were written not in Durham but somewhere else.

Dating

No exact date can be accorded any of the three sections of Ff.1.27, since the various hands used indicate a later date than is suggested by internal evidence. In section 1 (gatherings 1-2, fols 1-20) the contents (Gildas and Nennius) are of no help in dating. In section 2 (gatherings 3-13, fols 21-102) the only real indication of date is provided by the reference on fol 95^r to Richard of Hexham as bone memorie; this was obviously written after the death of the author, who was alive in the period 1162-7.¹ In this section, the HDE and its continuations are of little interest in terms of dating. The main hand, which goes as far as Ranulf Flambard's death in 1128, was clearly written a good deal later than this. Unfortunately, the inserted fol 45^v omits the passage which in Cosin's noted what particular bishop was in

¹ HRH p 166.

presenti. The scribe responsible for the continuation to the HDE in Ff.1.27 was at work sometime after Hugh du Puiset's election to the bishopric in 1153, but further precision is not possible. In section 3 (gathering 14, fols 103-110), Gilbert of Limerick's De statu ecclesiae was probably written c 1111.¹

Though it is difficult to be precise, and impossible to be certain, I am inclined to date the main hand of section 2 somewhere around the beginning of the last quarter of the twelfth century. The hands in section 1, fols 9-20, and in section 3 seem to be about two or three decades later, perhaps into the thirteenth century. Fols 1-8 of section 1 were almost certainly written in the early thirteenth century.

Provenance

Accepted wisdom on the provenance of Ff.1.27 is derived from M.R. James's contention that it originally formed one book with CCC 66. Archbishop Matthew Parker, it is alleged, into whose hands the book fell, split it in two, took a fourteenth-century book from Bury St Edmunds, divided this as well, shuffled the pieces and fabricated two composite volumes, each containing a

¹ The De statu ecclesiae seems to have been written either as preparation for or as a result of the council of Rathbreasail of 1111, which Gilbert presided over in his capacity as papal legate, and which aimed to reorganise the Irish ecclesiastical structure along the lines approved by the Gregorian reform. See J.A. Watt, The Church in Medieval Ireland, The Gill History of Ireland 5 (Dublin 1972) pp 10-12, 18, 29; idem, The Church and the two Nations in Medieval Ireland (Cambridge 1970) pp 9-16. Watt noted Gilbert's episcopate as 1107-40 (ibid p 245), but it has been observed that he was still alive in 1152; see Martin Brett, The English Church under Henry I (Oxford 1975) p 32.

twelfth-century part and a fourteenth-century part. One he gave to Cambridge University Library, where it became Ff.1.27, the other he gave to Corpus Christi College where it became MS 66.¹ Because of the Sawley ex libris on p 2 of MS 66, Ff.1.27 and 66 have both been associated with the Sawley library, and seen as products of the Sawley scriptorium. Blair, Ker and Kauffmann adhere to this view,² and Dumville went further in claiming that there is 'no doubt' that Ff.1.27 and 66 originated at Sawley. Dumville reinforced this opinion by pointing to the remnants of an early modern foliation which covers the twelfth-century sections of both volumes and by which, he claimed, the original structure of the twelfth-century manuscript may be re-established as follows: CCCC 66 pp 1-98; Ff.1.27 fols 103-110; CCCC 66 pp 99-114; Ff.1.27 fols 1-44, 86-94, 45-85, 95-102. Dumville drew attention also to the partially erased fifteenth-century list of contents in CCCC 66 p 1, which, like the foliation, covers both volumes.³ The foliation and list of contents he cites do not, however, seem to me to establish anything beyond that the two manuscripts were together in the fifteenth century. But before proceeding further, it is necessary first to consider CCCC 66 itself.

¹ James, Corpus 1 pp 137-45.

² Blair p 73; Ker, Catalogue p 12; Kauffmann p 123.

³ Dumville p 371; idem, The textual history of the Welsh-Latin Historia Brittonum (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. 1976) pp 597-8.

Description and collation

114 numbered pp; numbers 21-22 used twice. I have followed Parker's red chalk pagination.

300 x 210 mm;

rebound 1954

double columns, ruled with a plummet.

Gathering 1 (pp 1-18) has 8+1 fols; the first leaf is inserted, though contemporary. Gatherings 2-4 (pp 19-66) each have 8 fols. These four gatherings are ruled for 33 lines. Gathering 5 (pp 65-82) has 9 fols, though originally had 10; the last leaf has been removed. Gatherings 6 (pp 83-98) and 7 (pp 99-114) both have 8 fols. Pp 67-98 have 43 lines to the page, p 99 has 38, p 101 has 54, and pp 102-114 have 35 lines.

Hands

MS 66 is written in a number of similar and roughly contemporary main hands.

Apart from passages on pp 4b, 51, 60, 109 supplied in different hands, pp 3-60, 68-69, 102-114 are written in what may be the one hand, or at least very similar and contemporary hands.

I am inclined to think that pp 63^a-67 and the prologue to Gilbert of Limerick on p 98^b are not in this hand, though they are again in a very similar hand, and that a separate hand again is responsible for pp 99 and 101.

Another hand, with some charter characteristics, is responsible for the paragraph on p 51 and perhaps for pp 61-62^a, and a different hand again for pp 62^b-63^a.

Pp 70-98 are in a smaller, more squat hand.

Secondary references

James, Corpus 1 pp 137-45.

W.L. Bevan and H.W. Philott, Medieval Geography; an essay in illustration of the Hereford Mappa Mundi (London 1873) pp xxxvi-xxxix.

E.G. Millar, English illuminated manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIth century (Paris and Brussels 1926) p 88 and plate 54b.

H.R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in mediaeval literature (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1927) plate 5.

Mynors p 41.

Ker, Catalogue p 12.

Blair p 73.

M. Destombes, Mappesmondes AD 1200-1500 (Amsterdam 1964) p 48.

A. Katznellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art (New York 1964) p 62 n 3.

Ker, Medieval Libraries p 177.

Dumville pp 371, 377.

Kauffmann fig 42 and p 123.

V.I.J. Flint, 'The Elucidarius of Honorius Augustodunensis and the Reform in Late Eleventh Century England', Revue Bénédictine 85 (Abbaye de Maredsous, Belgium, 1975) pp 178-89, at p 188 n 3; idem, ibid 87(1977) p 123.

Michael Schilling, 'Rota Fortunae, Beziehungen zwischen Bild und Text in mittelalterlichen Handschriften', Deutsche Literatur des späten Mittelalters. Hamburger Colloquium 1973, ed Wolfgang Harms and L. Peter Johnson (Berlin 1975) pp 293-313, at pp 307-8.

Contents¹

¹ My enumeration of the contents differs in some respects from James's.

1. p 1, fifteenth-century list of contents.¹
2. p 2, map of the world;² followed by (pp 3-58) Honorius Augustodunensis, Imago mundi, printed in its fullest form in PL 172 cols 115-188³. Pp 43-58 contain what the rubric on p 43 terms Cronica ab adam usque ad henricum imperatorem.⁴
3. pp 58-64, extracts from the geographical works of Pliny and others.⁵ P 65 has been left blank.

¹This is in the same hand as the list in CCCC 139 fol 2^r. See Baker, MS 139 p 93 n 42.

²See W.L. Bevan and H.W. Phillott, Medieval Geography; an essay in illustration of the Hereford Mappa Mundi (London 1873) pp xxxvi-xxxix; M. Destombes, Mappemondes AD 1200-1500 (Amsterdam 1964) p 48. The classification given here to the map should perhaps be viewed with some caution in the light of N.R. Ker's highly unfavourable review in The Book Collector (Autumn 1965) p 373.

³Honorius has recently been receiving considerable attention. See M.O. Garrigues, 'Quelques recherches sur l'oeuvre d'honorius Augustodunensis', Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 70 (Louvain 1975) pp 388-425; and on particular aspects, see V.I.J. Flint, 'The Career of Honorius Augustodunensis', Revue Bénédictine 82 (Abbaye de Maredsous, Belgium, 1972) pp 63-86; idem, 'The Chronology of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis', ibid pp 215-42; idem, 'The Elucidarius of Honorius Augustodunensis and the Reform in Late Eleventh Century England', ibid 85 (1975) pp 178-89; idem, 'The Sources of the Elucidarius of Honorius Augustodunensis', ibid pp 190-8.

⁴An item with the same rubric and containing some of the same material appears in CCCC MS 139 fols 48^r-50^v, and some of the same material appears also in Liège University Library 369 C fol 75^r-83^v. Much remains to be done on the exact relationships between the chronicles in these three manuscripts, and the possible debt to the Imago Mundi of the latter two, where no author is named.

⁵See James pp 139-40

4. p 66, full-page Wheel of Fortune illustration, reproduced in H.R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in mediaeval literature (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1927) plate 5; E. G. Millar, English illuminated manuscripts from the Xth to the XIII th century (Paris and Brussels 1926) plate 54.¹

5. pp 67-97, variant version of the De Primo Saxonum Adventu, with, like Durham Cathedral Library MS B.II.35, short accounts of the origins of the English sees and lists of the bishops, and a longer account of York ending with the death of archbishop Thurstan in 1140.²

P 67 contains an illustration of Adam and his line of descendants, and at the foot of the page an incipit which reads;

Incipit historia de origine anglorum et de regnis eorum ab adam usque ad secundum henricum imperatricis filium qui regnavit in anglia post pium et nobilem regem stephanum et de omnibus episcopatibus et episcopis tocius anglie pulchre et subtiliter composita.

P 67 contains a variant, expanded version of the extract from the Historia Brittonum of Nennius which appears in other

¹ See Kauffmann, p 123 and James p 140

² James did not appear to notice the similarity to the DPSA as found in, for example, Cotton Caligula A.viii. The account of the archbishops of York appears to be the same as in Durham Cathedral Library B.II.35, printed in HCY 2 pp 513-30.

manuscripts of the DPSA.¹

At the foot of p 68 is a brief account of the genealogy of Woden, acting as an introduction to the full-page illustration of Woden and his sons on p 69. At the foot of p 69 is the heading Incipit liber primus de gestis regum, and at the top of p 70 is another heading, Prenotata serie generationum ex qua primi anglici generis reges prodierant, subnotatur qui et ubi et quoto incarnationis domini anno regnauerint post illorum aduentum in bryttanniam.²

At the foot of p 79 is the rubric Explicit liber primus de gestis regum. Incipit liber secundus de gestis pontificum.

The explicit to the whole work appears on p 98:

Explicit Historia de gestis omnium regum anglorum post aduentum illorum in angliam et episcoporum et omnium episcopatum totius anglie post aduentum sancti augustini in angliam usque in hodiernum diem id est usque ad annum post incarnationem Christi m.c. octogesimum VIII regnante glorioso rege henrico secundo. Angli saxones regnante marciano secundo uenerunt ad britanniam anno uidelicet post passionem Christi cccc.xl. septimo.

¹Arnold II pp 365-80 did not print this extract. Other manuscripts - Liège University Library 369 C, Durham Cathedral Library B.II.35, Cotton Domitian viii and Caligula A.viii - are very similar to each other. See S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne, 'Un extrait peu connu de l'Historia Brittonum de Nennius', in Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune (Gembloux 1969) pp 1-4.

²See Arnold II p 367. The same heading occurs in Liège U.L. 369 C, Domitian viii, Caligula A.viii and Durham Cathedral Library B.II.35.

6. p 98^b, prologue to Gilbert of Limerick, De statu ecclesiae¹
printed in PL 159 cols 995-6.
7. pp 99-101, Theobald of Étampes, letter to bishop Robert
Bloet of Lincoln (1093-1122/3), de confessione in ultimo,
printed in PL 163 cols 759-63.²
8. pp 101-112, two items by Clement of Llanthony, descriptio
prime ale cherubin (p 101), and de confessione (p 108).

On p 100, interrupting Theobald of Étampes, is a full-page
illustration of a cherub whose six wings are inscribed with
the names of virtues; reproduced in Kauffmann fig 42.³

9. pp 112-114, de quatuor generibus confessionis.

The last folio of the book was left blank.

Dating

James,⁴ followed by C.H. Talbot,⁵ dated MS 66 to the thirteenth
century. Ker indicated a date in the second half of the twelfth
century.⁶ Kauffmann commented that

The Chronicle is taken up to 1181 and a date in the 1180s
fits well with the style of the Fortuna miniature. Both
the figures on the wheel and the medallions on the frame re-
call the Puisset manuscripts produced at Durham c 1180.⁷

¹ See below pp 77-8.

² On Theobald of Étampes (c 1070-c1132) see New Catholic Encyclop-
aedia 14 (Washington 1967) p 12; R. Foreville, 'L'Ecole de
Caen au XI^e siècle et les origines normandes de l'Université
d'Oxford', Etudes médiévales offertes à Augustin Fliche
Paris 1952) pp 81-100.

³ On the symbolism, see Kauffmann p 123; Katzenellenbogen p 62.

⁴ James p 137; elsewhere (p 138) James suggested 'cent. xii (xiii?)'.

⁵ Traditio 8 (1952) p 405

⁶ Ker, Medieval Libraries p 177.

⁷ Kauffmann p 123.

Kauffmann is here following James, who noted that the accounts of the English kings and bishops in the DPSA on pp 67-97 go up to 1181 - 'desinit utraque historia in anno 1181'.¹

In fact, James's '1181' is insecurely based. The account of the kings includes king Henry II (p 79), but makes no reference to 1181, and it seems possible that James obtained his date by reference to the last name in the list of archbishops of York on p 97, Roger of Bishopsbridge, who died in 1181. There is, however, no reference to his death in the manuscript. But the rubric on p 98 contains a reference to a date in the 1180s which James printed but did not comment on. The history is said to stretch usque hodiernum diem id est usque ad annum post incarnationem Christi m.c. octogesimum VIII regnante glorioso rege henrico secundo. That this rubric was composed in 1188 seems clear, but whether its inclusion in MS 66 can be placed in this year is not entirely beyond doubt since there seems a real possibility that it could have been copied from an exemplar. The objection to this view might be that such a copy could hardly have been made even as little as two years later, since Henry II died in 1189, but other mistakes (see below) do not inspire great confidence in the knowledge or insight of the scribes. Nor, despite Dumville, who has written of 'a

¹ James p 137.

text of the year 1188¹, can the date 1188 be used to cross-refer with certainty to the texts of MS 66, either to their dates of composition or to the dates of activity of their scribes. In fact, while other items in the manuscript were composed too early to be of much assistance in dating, the text of the DPSA - or at least the episcopal lists it contains - suggests a date earlier than 1188. A consensus of the last names in these lists shows that the lists were probably composed between 1164 (the consecration of bishop Roger of Worcester) and 1174 (the consecration of Richard of Dover, archbishop of Canterbury).² It should again be stressed that these are the dating limits of composition and not necessarily of the scribe, since, unlike similar lists in, for example, Durham University Library Cosin's V.ii.6 fol 6^v or Liège University Library MS 369 C fol 94^r or Bodleian Laud misc. 491 fol 173^v, there are no near contemporary additions which enable the original hand to be dated with precision. Thus MS 66 yields two separate termini a quo, 1188 for the rubric on p 98, and 1164 x 74 for the episcopal lists. No exact terminus ad quem can be suggested, but while the hands vary among and within the gatherings, I am inclined to date the manuscript as a whole before the end of the twelfth century, perhaps somewhere c 1190.

¹David N. Dumville, 'The textual History of the Welsh-Latin Historia Brittonum' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. 1976) p 425

²The lists in 66 are similar to those in Durham Dean and Chapter Library MS B.II.35.

Some attention must be given at this point to arguments advanced by Dumville for dating Ff.1.27 and 66 to the early thirteenth century. He argued that the two volumes 'cannot antedate 1200', since he dated 1202 x 1207 a marginal note in CCCC 139 fol 177^r which was later added to the text of the Historia Brittonum in Ff.1.27, The marginal note in MS 139 reads:

Wedale anglice, uallis doloris latine. Wedale uilla est in pro^uintia Lodanesie, nunc uero iuris episcopi sancti andree scotie, sex miliaria ab occidentali parte ab illo quondam nobili monasterio de MELROS.

Dumville commented:

The remark about Melrose (quondam nobili monasterio) is not readily explicable, for the Cistercian refoundation of 1136, a sisterhouse of Sawley, was well-established by the end of the twelfth century. However, the legal situation of Wedale (nunc uero iuris episcopi ...) can be dated to a specific period. It had been the hereditary possession of its priest until it was acquired by William Malvoisin, bishop of St. Andrews from 1202 to 1238. This change in ownership had taken place by 1207 when Wedale is named among the possessions of the bishop. The note by C¹ therefore refers to a situation which developed during the years 1202-1207. It may reasonably be conjectured that this note is referring to a comparatively recent development; we can therefore assign it with some confidence to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. CCCC 66 + F.1.27, where this note is incorporated into the body of the Historia Brittonum, consequently cannot antedate 1200 as has been suggested elsewhere.²

¹ C7 is Dumville's identification for one of the chief marginal hands in CCCC 139.

² Dumville p 377.

Superficially, this may look convincing, but the basis of Dumville's assertion is weak. The evidence that Wedale was first acquired by the see of St Andrews when William Malvoisin was bishop (1202-38) rests on a thirteenth or fourteenth-century marginal addition to the copy of a spurious charter.¹ To accept without corroborative evidence an addition of this date to such a doubtful document is, I think, to be more trusting than the nature of the evidence should properly allow. Dumville's terminus ad quem (1207), when Wedale is named among the bishop's possessions, is based on an entry in papal registers.² This makes no reference to William Malvoisin, and it is perfectly possible that Wedale was acquired at some date before 1207 but that its ownership was only then first recorded.³ As Dumville admits, 'The previous status of the church of Wedale is curious and imperfectly understood'.⁴ On balance Dumville's arguments are not convincing. The simplest explanation is that the note was composed, though not of course added to CCCC 139, before 1136, when Melrose was founded as a Cistercian house.

¹ Ibid n 3; Regesta Regum Scottorum II: Acts of William I, ed G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh 1971) pp 288-9.

² W.H. Bliss, Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters I 1198-1304 (London 1893) p 30.

³ I am indebted to Mr Malcolm Baker of the Royal Scottish Museum for pointing this out to me. It may be significant that the entry for 1207 in the papal register claims to be 'in accordance with letters of pope Alexander', presumably Alexander III (1159-81). Wedale was perhaps also mentioned in these letters.

⁴ Dumville p 377 n 4.

Ff.1.27 and 66

Contrary to the view of M.R. James, it may be argued that the twelfth-century parts of Ff.1.27 and 66 are separate books.

The fourteenth-century parts of the two manuscripts probably did once form a single volume, since hands and initials appear to be identical, though it may be significant that MS 66A lacks the fine paintings on the lower margins which are such a striking feature of the fourteenth-century part of Ff.1.27.¹

The separate and distinct origin of Ff.1.27 and 66 is suggested initially, by a number of physical differences. They are, firstly, different sizes. James gave the measurements of both as $11\frac{7}{10}" \times 8\frac{1}{5}"$,² and Kauffmann gave the measurements 300×210 mm.³

In fact, in neither book are the folios of uniform size. Since some leaves have had to be folded to fit the binding, and some cut by the binder, their present size is of limited interest. More significant are the dimensions of the ruled space,⁴ which in 66 is consistently two or three mm shorter than in Ff.1.27. No: does a comparison of the number of lines to the page, which varies within both manuscripts, suggest an identity; MS 66 has 33, 53 and 35 lines to the page while Ff.1.27 has mainly 36, sometimes

¹ There are pen and ink drawings of a simpler type in the lower margins of 66A fols 23^v, 76^r, 105^v and 108^r.

² James, Corpus 1 p 138.

³ Kauffmann p 123.

⁴ See Ker, English Manuscripts p 40 n.

35 and (in gathering 14) 43 lines. At first sight there are similarities between the ornate initials in both manuscripts. Both use the same colours, the same shades and roughly the same forms of ornamentation. But in MS 66 only the B on p 68 can be compared directly to anything in Ff.1.27, to the G and A on fol 50^{r/v}, and in the present state of knowledge on non-inhabited initials this does not seem enough to posit an identity between the two manuscripts. Many more initials in 66 – on pp 6, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, 80, 82, 102 – have smaller, neater ornamentation than Ff.1.27 and make more use of dots as space-fillers. MS 66 also makes extensive use of gold, not only in the splendid Wheel of Fortune illustration (p 66) but also as the basis of initials on pp 6, 28, 43, 68, 70, 71, 72, 74, 77, 80, 82, 100, 102; while in Ff.1.27 there is very limited use of gold, which appears only in the B of Britannie on fol 2^r, where it is of rougher texture than in MS 66.

Confirmation of the separate origin of the two volumes is provided by inconsistencies in their respective contents which would be almost impossible to explain if they were to be regarded as parts of a divided single volume. Gilbert of Limerick's De statu ecclesiae, prologue and main text, appear in Ff.1.27 fols 103^r-105^v. MS 66 p 98 contains the prologue to this work in the middle of column b. There are both similarities and differences between these copies. The incipit in both is the same

but whereas the explicit in Ff.1.27 reads simply Explicit prologus, that in 66 reads Explicit prologus libelli Gille lumnicensis episcopi de usu ecclesiastico. There are also some minor differences in the text.¹ One prologue is thus not a copy of the other, which might be the case if both prologues were seen as occurring in the same manuscript, though why a manuscript might contain two copies of the same piece of writing is a question never posed by those who regard Ff.1.27 and 66 as a single volume. Differences between the two versions of the prologue invalidate the possible significance of the fact that MS 66 pp 97/8 are the last of the gathering and at one stage faced Ff.1.27 fol 103. The prologue in 66 p 98 could hardly have acted as prologue for the text in Ff.1.27 when Ff.1.27 itself contains the prologue. It may in fact have been because of the coincidence of the texts that these two sections were placed together at the time of the early modern foliation.

More inconsistencies are revealed when the list of Durham bishops in MS 66 p 97 is compared with the lists in, for example, Durham University Library Cosin's MS V. ii 6 fol 6^{r/v} or Trinity College, Cambridge, 1227 fol 1^v, or the accounts of the bishops of Lindisfarne, Chester-le-Street and Durham found in the twelfth-century manuscripts of the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, Cosin's

¹Where Ff.1.27 and the text printed by Migne (PL 159 col 995) have incorpore iungitur, 66 has corpore iungitur. In 66, peragendo was originally written peragendis and the is erased.

V.ii.6, BL Cotton Faustina A.v, Durham Dean and Chapter Library A.IV.36 and, most significantly, Ff.1.27 itself. Compared with the succession detailed in these sources, 66 omits the names of bishops Heathuredus, Ecgred, Eanbert, Wigred, Uhtred, Sexhelm and Aldred, and errs on Eardulf ('Edmundus') and Tilred ('Alfredus'). The name of William of St Carilef is an interlinear addition, though made by the main scribe. It seems almost inconceivable that such mistakes could have been made in a scriptorium which had knowledge of the Durham succession, and especially that a scribe working on another gathering of a manuscript which contained or was about to contain a copy of the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae could have been so ignorant of this work.

Just as there is no proof that Ff.1.27 and 66 shared a common origin, there are likewise no indications that they were together in the twelfth century. The absence of late twelfth or early thirteenth-century nota signs in 66 but their presence in Ff.1.27 may reasonably be taken to indicate that they were not together in this period. In the sixteenth century both were paginated anew from p 1 in the red chalk associated with Matthew Parker, which perhaps may be negative evidence that Parker, the man traditionally associated with separating them, did not see the two volumes as one.

The origin of both manuscripts must be considered separately.

Provenance: Ff.1.27

Mynors alone felt there was 'reason to believe' that Ff.1.27 was a Durham book, though he did not extend this attribution to MS 66.¹ I am inclined to think that Mynors must be right. It can be demonstrated that Ff.1.27 breaks down into three main sections. Section 3 (gathering 14, fols 103-110) was probably produced in Durham, since, as Mynors points out, the copy it contains of Gilbert of Limerick's De statu ecclesiae was 'almost certainly' copied from Durham Dean and Chapter Library B.II35 fols 36^r-37^r.² In section 2 (gatherings 3-13), fols 21-102), it is doubtful whether gatherings 6-12 (fols 45-94) could have been written anywhere but Durham, since they contain so much Durham-orientated material: the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae and its various continuations; a charter on the privileges of the church of Lindisfarne; the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto; a list of relics contained in the church of Durham;³ the poem de situ Dunelmi; and Aethelwulf's De Abbatibus, which is not about the abbots of Lindisfarne, though Ff.1.27 insists on describing the author as being 'lindisfarnen-

¹Mynors p 8. Elsewhere (p41), however, he wrote of Ff.1.27 as forming part of 'a Salley volume now divided' with CCC 66.

²Ibid p 41.

³The list of relics (fol 81^v) does not accord with the HDE, since there is no mention of the relics of Acca and Alchmund, bishops of Hexham, parts of which the HDE claims were brought to Durham in the eleventh century by Elfred Westou but which Hexham propaganda later in the twelfth century insisted had been miraculously resistant to Elfred's efforts to seize them. See Arnold, I, pp 88-9; Blair pp 87-90; below p 266.

sis'.¹ Gatherings 3-5 (fols 21-44) and 13 (fols 95-102), which are probably written substantially in the same hand as gatherings 6-12, can for this reason also be attributed to Durham. The first section of Ff.1.27 (gatherings 1-2, fols 1-20) which contains Gildas, de excidio and Nennius, Historia Brittonum, was probably also written in Durham as Stevenson thought,² though there are no near-contemporary gathering numbers to connect it with the other twelfth-century gatherings in the manuscript. It is suggested below that relationships among the copies of the Historia Brittonum found in Ff.1.27 fols 11^r-20^v, and in Liège University Library 369 C, Durham Cathedral Library B.II 35, and CCCC 139 are best explained if they are all regarded as Durham products.³ It seems likely that Ff.1.27 fols 11-20 (containing the Historia Brittonum), fols 9 and 10, which are in the same hand, and perhaps also fols 1-8, or at least the gathering which these leaves replaced, were all written in Durham.

Like CCCC 139 fols 168-182 (containing the Historia Brittonum and Life of Gildas), Ff.1.27 fols 45-81 (containing the HDE and its continuations) perhaps left Durham after better copies of the texts

¹ See above p 52. The stumbling-block to a Durham attribution represented by the inclusion in Ff.1.27 of Richard of Hexham's work extolling the saints of Hexham, is, I feel, outweighed by other evidence; see below pp 248, 266.

² A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge 5 vols (Cambridge 1856-67) 2 pp 318-29, at p 320.

³ See below pp 115-8.

they contained became available there. It has already been remarked that the continuations to the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae on Cumin, Ste Barbe and Puiset in Ff.1.27 are almost certainly in an earlier hand than the fuller versions to be found in Cosin's V.ii.6, and may represent not a later abridgement as Arnold and Offler felt, but an earlier version. If these versions were superseded by Cosin's V.ii.6, they perhaps became expendable, and could safely be given away, perhaps shortly before the end of the twelfth century.

Though it seems clear that Ff.1.27 left Durham, perhaps before the end of the twelfth century, it is not certain where it went but Sawley does remain a possibility. The relationship between Ff.1.27 and CCCC 139 is important here. It must be stressed that Ff.1.27 should be dissociated from the Sawley ex libris in CCCC 66, and that there is strong evidence that CCCC 139, despite the Sawley ex libris, was not written there.¹ But it seems likely that the rubrics crediting Symeon with authorship of the Historia Regum and Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, which appear, respectively, in CCCC 139 and Ff.1.27, should possibly all be regarded as slightly later additions not necessarily intended by the main scribes of the texts they describe. These rubrics do show signs of a common origin, though they are certainly not all in the one hand, and may

¹See below pp 115-9.

have been added to Ff.1.27 from knowledge of CCCC 139, or equally possibly vice versa, and may have been added to 139 if and when the manuscript reached Sawley. These suggestions are, however, recorded only as possibilities, and it must be remembered that the only concrete link between Sawley and these two manuscripts is the ex libris in 139.¹ A more direct link between 139 and Ff.1.27 is provided by the activities of an annotator at work in both volumes.² Another annotator was at work on 139 in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, possibly when the book was at Sawley, and had access to information on the bishops of Durham which he added to the margins of the text of the Historia Regum.³ His source may have been a copy of the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, perhaps that in Ff.1.27. On the other hand, it is of course quite possible that such conjectural links between Ff.1.27 and 139, tenuous as they are, were the result of the two volumes being together elsewhere than at Sawley, perhaps at Fountains, where it has been suggested that 139 was formed into one volume before going to Sawley,⁴ or, indeed, perhaps at Durham itself.⁵

A Durham origin can, I think, be suggested for Ff.1.27 without reference to the form of capital I on fol 103^r, which is of what

¹ See above pp 15-16, below pp 115-20.

² Dumville termed this hand C8; 'The textual history of the Welsh-Latin Historia Brittonum' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. 1976) p 599

³ See below pp 217-9.

⁴ See below p 120.

⁵ Below pp 117-9.

Mynors described as a distinctively Durham type. As noted below, this form of the initial can also be found in books from outwith Durham, and cannot be used as evidence of a Durham origin.¹ A small example of this type is also to be found in MS 66 p 49.

Provenance: 66

Apart from the dubious example of this initial, 66 does have links with Durham manuscripts. Kauffmann noted the resemblance of the Wheel of Fortune illustration (p66) to the artwork of the Puise manuscripts produced in Durham c 1180 (for example, Durham Dean and Chapter Library A.II.1, A.II.19).² Moreover, the version of the De Primo Saxonum Adventu in 66 pp 67-98 has close similarities with the copy in Durham Dean and Chapter Library B.II.35 fols 131^r-141^v. The lists of bishops seem to have been composed around the same time, though they are not identical. More important, the account of the archbishops of York, ending with the burial of Thurstan in 1140, is the same in both manuscripts.³ Despite these links, however, it does not seem possible to argue a Durham provenance for MS 66. It may be significant that 66 lacks the extended account of the bishops of Durham which appears in B.II.35 fols 139^r-141^v.

¹ See below p 149.

² Kauffmann, p 123.

³ Printed from B.II.35 in HCY 2 pp 513-30.

and the possibility of a Durham provenance seems almost certainly precluded by the omissions and mistakes in the list of Durham bishops on p 97; by the omission of Heathuredus, Ecgred, Eanbert, Wigred, Uhtred, Sexhelm and Aldred; by the errors on Eardulf ('Edmundus') and Tilred ('Alfredus'); and by the interlineation of William of St Carilef, a bishop with a special place in the affections of the twelfth-century Durham community.¹ For a Durham scribe to display such ignorance is, of course, possible but hardly likely, especially since there are no comparable mistakes in the lists of other bishops.²

Where then was 66 written? Despite the early, perhaps even contemporary, ex libris, it also seems highly unlikely that it was written and illuminated at Sawley. It should be suspected that

¹ See Bernard Meehan, 'Outsiders, insiders and property in Durham around 1000', SCH 12 (1975) pp 45-58, at pp 54-5.

² The Hexham lists seem to be correct, though the scribes in 66 and in 8.II.35 were probably wrong in writing idem qui supra above the names of Eata II and Wilfrid II. In the Worcester list bishop Wilferth (922-9) is omitted. The whole question of Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists is confused, though like many problems would be less so on publication of a new edition of the Worcester chronicle. See R.I. Page 'Anglo-Saxon Episcopal Lists, Part I and II', Nottingham Medieval Studies 9 (1965) pp 71-95; 'Part III', ibid 10 (1966) pp 2-24; David N. Dumville, 'The Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists', Anglo-Saxon England 5, ed Peter Clemoes (Cambridge 1976) pp 23-50.

a volume as expensively illustrated as 66, with such extensive use of gold and including such a skilful elaboration as the Wheel of Fortune page, could not have been produced at a house with the meagre resources which the evidence suggests were available in Sawley.¹ Founded by William de Percy in 1148, the abbey faced a constant struggle for a number of years and seems to have been on the point of dissolution until saved in 1189 by the intervention of the founder's daughter, Matilda, countess of Warwick.² Whether this amounted exactly to a 'refoundation', as McNulty said,³ is not clear, but it seems to be stretching the imagination to suggest that MS 66 could have been produced in Sawley around this time. Only about seven miles from Sawley, the community at Barnoldswick experienced the same problems, and within six years was forced by unyielding land and the attentions of brigands to move to Kirkstall.⁴ Significantly too, MS 66 is the only book associated with a Cistercian house to find a place in Kauffmann's

¹ Baker, 'MS 139' p 104; Memorials of Fountains Abbey I, ed J.R. Walbran, SS 42 (1863) pp 62-3 n, 93 n 4.

² The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Sallay in Craven, 2 vols, ed J. McNulty, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 87, 90 (1933-4) 2 pp 128-9. Janet Burton has indicated that Sawley was always the poorest of the Yorkshire Cistercian houses; The Origins and Development of the Religious Orders in Yorkshire c 1069 to c 1200 (University of York D.Phil. 1977) p 226.

³ McNulty p 26 n.

⁴ The Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey, ed E.K. Clark, Thoresby Society 4 (Leeds 1895) pp 169-208, at p 178.

survey of romanesque manuscripts illuminated in England, though Kauffmann did not comment on this anomaly. It is true that the decree of the Cistercian General Chapter, issued after 1152, that initials should be in no more than one colour and should not be inhabited or historiated was not obeyed with absolute uniformity,¹ yet the indications are that after 1152 most Cistercian houses did observe a degree of asceticism in the production of manuscripts.² If, moreover, Ker was correct in estimating that the scriptoria of the new houses started functioning only about thirty years after foundation,³ then MS 66 would be an astonishingly accomplished product for a remote and unsung community founded as late as 1148. MS 66, in fact, stands on

¹Boase p 154; above p 29.

²Of the English Cistercian manuscripts in the BL (Royal 3.D. ix, 3.Ev, 8.E.iv) noted by Dodwell (p 109 n 6; by a slip he wrote 8.E.iv) as being of high accomplishment, only 3.D.ix is from the twelfth century and in terms of quality cannot be compared directly with MS 66. Bodleian Douce 293 and Gough liturg. 2, both late twelfth-century manuscripts from the north of England, make some use of gold, but no exact provenance can be suggested for them; see Kauffmann pp 117, 120-1. On the question of the Cistercian attitude to art it was interesting to hear Jean Leclercq claim (University College Dublin seminar, November 25, 1976) that St Bernard never rejected imagery in art, that he had no theory on art or architecture, that contrary to accepted beliefs St Bernard claimed that God gave us images, therefore pingimus. See also Leclercq, St Bernard et l'esprit cistercien (Paris 1975) pp 20-23. Some support for Leclercq's contention may be found in the passage from Reginald of Durham's Life of St Godric of Finchale, where reference is made to colours and pictures; see below pp 252-4.

³Ker, English Manuscripts p 9.

its own among twelfth-century English Cistercian books. Cheney alone warned that 'we cannot be sure' that it represents 'Cistercian work'.¹ Without evidence to the contrary, it must surely be seen as coming to Sawley as the result of purchase or gift, probably the latter. Too little is known about the house to venture definite suggestions about the identity of the conjectural donor, but the name of Matilda, countess of Warwick, may tentatively be put forward; certainly the date of the book concurs approximately with her grants to the house in 1189.

Conclusion

CUL F.1.27 should now be dissociated from CCCC 66, and conclusions about either volume cannot now be used as evidence in a discussion of the other. Physical differences and discrepancies in contents make this conclusion inescapable. Ff.1.27 was probably written in Durham, though where it went is not certain. MS 66 formed part of the Sawley library from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, but was probably not written there.

¹C.R. Cheney, 'English Cistercian Libraries: The First Century', in Medieval Texts and Studies (Oxford 1973) pp 328-45, at pp 331-2. It may be remarked, incidentally, that the present condition of 66 gives reason to believe that it was little read, certainly little thumbed, in the middle ages.

Durham Dean and Chapter Library A.IV.36, formerly
Phillipps MS 9374 (A.IV.36)

A.IV.36 is the manuscript fourth in date of the HDE.

Description and collation

iii + 122 fols + i;

208 x 122 mm;

single columns; 23 lines; lined with a plummet;

nineteenth-century binding;

gatherings of 8 fols, apart from gathering 2 (fols 9-14), which has six leaves, gathering 14 (fols 103-109), which has six + one inserted leaf (fol 108), and gathering 16, which has five leaves.

Contents

1. fol i, flyleaf.
2. fols ii^r-iii^v, list of chapter headings.
3. fols 1^r-4^r, preface to HDE, starting Regnante apud, as in Cosin's fols 1^v-4^v, and as printed in Arnold I pp 7-11.
4. fol 4^{r/v}, list of bishops of Durham, with preface, starting Exordium hujus and ending with Philip of Poitou, bishop 1197-1208; as in Cosin's fol 6^{r/v}, and as printed in Arnold I p 3.
5. fols 4^v-90^r, HDE, from Gloriosi quondam to annus agebatur, as in Cosin's fols 11^r-98^r, and as printed in Arnold I pp 17-135.
6. fols 90^r-107^r, continuation to the HDE, on Ranulf Flambard, Geoffrey Rufus, William Cumin and the consecration of William of Ste Barbe, as in Cosin's fols 98^v-113^r, and as

printed in Arnold I pp 135-60.

7. fols 107^v-121^v, part of the continuation to the HDE by Geoffrey of Coldingham, though unasccribed, from Erat Willielmus to assumeretur ad regnum, from the death of bishop William of Ste Barbe in 1152 to the death of King Richard I in 1199; printed in Scrip. Tres pp 3-20.
8. fol 122 blank + flyleaf.

Secondary references

J. Conway Davies, 'A Recovered Manuscript of Symeon of Durham', DUJ 44 (1951-2) pp 22-8.

Offler, Medieval Historians p 23 n 32.

N.R. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries II Abbotsford-Keele (Oxford 1977) pp 486-7.

Hands

The whole volume from fols 1^r- 121^v is, I feel, written in the same hand.¹ The flyleaves of chapter headings, fols ii and iii, are in a late thirteenth or early fourteenth-century hand and enumerate and describe not only what appears in A.IV.36 but also additional chapters of the text ascribed to Geoffrey of Coldingham.² In A.IV.36, the Geoffrey of Coldingham material ends with the death of king Richard I in 1199. The fourteenth-century manuscript, Dean and Chapter, York, XVI.I.12, on which Raine based the edition in Scrip. Tres, and which, unlike A.IV.36,

¹ Here I differ from Conway Davies (p 24), who felt that a new hand started on fol 107v. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts II pp 486 suggested changes of hand at fols 15, 107/10.

² Conway Davies p 26.

ascribes the work to Geoffrey, goes beyond 1199 and contains the material described in these further chapter headings in A.IV.36, including an account of the wrongs done to the Durham community by bishop Philip of Poitou, his death, and the election of bishop Richard Marsh.¹ The flyleaves in A.IV.36 are not, however, from this York manuscript, since they also detail the chapters of the HDE, which does not form part of the latter manuscript.² The flyleaves thus do not accord with any extant manuscript of the HDE and Geoffrey of Coldingham, and were presumably added to A.IV.36 at some unknown stage from the remnants of a manuscript now lost. Only a few lines were filled of A.IV.36 fol 121^v, and fol 122^{r/v} was left blank. It is therefore unlikely that the rest of Geoffrey of Coldingham's text was contained in gatherings now lost from A.IV.36. It seems possible that A.IV.36, which appears to be a carelessly copied text,³ is simply unfinished.

Dating

Conway Davies suggested a date c 1210 for A.IV.36, and Ker agreed with a date at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁴ More precisely, it might be inferred that A.IV.36 was written sometime

¹ Scrip. Tres pp 20-31; this text ends with the election of Morgan provost of Beverley as bishop of Durham in 1215.

² Conway Davies p 25 n 17.

³ See below p 93.

⁴ Conway Davies p 24; N.R. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries II Abbotsford-Keele (Oxford 1977) p 486.

between the death of king Richard I in April 1199, the last event mentioned in the manuscript, and April 1208, the death of bishop Philip of Poitou,¹ the last Durham bishop named on fol 4^v, whose death is not mentioned in A.IV.36 but appears in the York Manuscript of Geoffrey of Coldingham at a point after the end of the text in A.IV.36.² If, however, A.IV.36 is simply an unfinished copy of a text common to the York manuscript, this argument does not apply. There is no certainty, and Ker's date seems most safe.

Relationships

The text of the HDE and its continuation as far as the consecration of bishop William of Ste Barbe (fols 1^r-107^r) have affinities with Cosin's V.ii.6. Like Cosin's, A.IV.36 contains the preface starting Regnante apud (fol 1^r), goes on at fol 4^r to the list of Durham bishops prefaced by the passage starting Exordium hujus, and has the same main text and continuations of the HDE as are in Cosin's. A.IV.36, however, does not have the lists of monks found in Cosin's. But as in Cosin's there are elaborate though uninhabited coloured capitals for Regnante (fol 1^r),

¹ In A.IV.36 fol 4^v Hugo (Hugh du Puiset) is written in capitals, a distinction accorded in other, though not all, Durham manuscripts to the incumbent of the see. This may indicate that at the time of writing bishop Philip was not enjoying popularity with the monks; his quarrels with the community are described in Scrip. Tres pp 20-3. Hugh du Puiset, on the other hand, had ended his episcopate reconciled with the monks; see Scammell pp 128-36. The majuscule used for Hugo may, however, be simply the result of scribal carelessness seen elsewhere in the manuscript.

² Scrip. Tres pp 26-7.

Gloriosi (fol 4^v) and Transactis (fol 78^v). There is no verbal division of the work into books and chapters, though small coloured capitals mark the same divisions as in CUL Ff.1.27. Conway Davies pointed out that A.IV.36 is of limited value for purposes of collation, due to the large number of scribal errors. For example, fol 48^r reads ministri for sinistri, and fol 102^r reads honor for horror.

As Offler indicated, CCCC 100 pp 7-122 is probably a transcript of A.IV.36, though James mistakenly suggested that it was a transcript of the Historia Regum from CCCC 139.¹

Provenance and conclusion

A.IV.36 was written in Durham between 1199 and 1208 from an exemplar similar to Cosin's V.ii.6. It is of no special importance for the HDE or its immediate continuations, but, as Conway Davies pointed out, it is an important manuscript for the text of Geoffrey of Coldingham's history, since it antedates by more than a century the manuscript used in Raine's edition.² Since A.IV.36 mentions no author, the ascription of authorship to Geoffrey of Coldingham in the York manuscript should perhaps be viewed with some suspicion.

¹Offler, Medieval Historians p 23 n 32.

²Conway Davies p 25.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 139 (139)

Any consideration of the Historia Regum must start with MS 139, a collection of texts used, among others, by Twysden, Hinde and Arnold, and recently the subject of major studies by Blair, Dumville and Baker, from which the following account is largely derived, and where fuller details can be found.

Description and collation¹

182 fols; 305 x 213 mm; rebound 1952

ruled with a plummet, double columns.

Fols 1-2 are flyleaves.

Gathering 1 (fols 3-11) has 9 fols, though originally had 10; the last folio has been removed.

Gathering 2 (fols 12-18) has 7 fols, though originally had 8; the second folio has been removed.

Gathering 3 (fols 19-26) has 8 fols.

Gathering 4 (fols 27-34) has 8 fols, though originally had 10; the second and third folios have been removed.

Gathering 5 (fols 35-43) has 9 fols, though originally had 12; the fourth, fifth and tenth folios have been removed. These first five gatherings have 36 lines to the page.

Gathering 6 (fols 44-53) has 10 fols. There are 37 lines to the page.

Gathering 7 (fols 54-62) is of 8 + 1 fols. Fol 61 is a six-

¹The foliation in 139 is confused. References throughout are to the foliation in Baker, 'MS 139' pp 108-111.

teenth-century addition.

Gatherings 8 (fols 63-70), 9 (fols 71-78), 10 (fols 79-86), 11 (fols 87-94), 12 (fols 95-102), 13 (fols 103-110), 14 (fols 111-118), and 15 (fols 119-126) are all of 8 fols and have 36 lines to the page.

Gathering 16 (fols 127-135) is of 8+1 fols. There are 36 lines to the page on fols 127-134, and 38 lines on fol 135, which is a separate leaf. See below p 103.

Gathering 17 (fols 136-143) has 8 fols. Gathering 18 (fols 144-151) has 8 fols. There are 36 lines to the page in these two gatherings.

Gathering 19 (fols 152-163) is of 10+2 fols. Fols 162-163 are an added bifolium. There are 35 lines to the page on fols 152-161, and 36 lines on fols 162-163.

Gathering 20 (fols 164-167) has 4 fols, though originally had 8; the final 4 fols have been removed.

Gathering 21 (fols 168-176) is of 8+1 fols. Fol 168 is probably a separate leaf.

Gathering 22 (fols 177-182) has 6 fols, though originally had 8; the sixth and seventh folios have been removed. There are 35 lines to the page in these last three gatherings.

Apart from gatherings 20 and 22, the gatherings are consecutively numbered in roman numerals of the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries at the foot of the verso of the last folio of each gathering.

Contents

fols 1-2, fly leaf, ex libris, fifteenth-century list of contents.

1. fols 3^r-18^v, universal history from the creation of the world to king David, followed by list of popes to Calixtus II (1119-24).

According to the annotated copy of James's catalogue in the Corpus library, this is a copy of the summa totius of Honorius Augustodunensis.

2. fols 19^r-37^v, extracts from Regino of Prüm, Chronicon; printed in full in MGH Scriptores I, ed. G.H. Pertz (Hanover 1726) pp 532-612.

3. fols 38^r-48^r, Richard of Hexham, de gestis regis Stephani et de bello Standardii, printed in Raine, Hexham pp 63-106.

4. fols 48^r-50^v, chronicle from Adam to the emperor Henry V (1106-25).¹

5. fols 50^v-52^r, letter of Symeon of Durham to dean Hugh of York on the archbishops of York, printed in Arnold I pp 222-8.

6. fols 52^r-53^v, the tract De obsessione Dunelmi et de probitate Ucthredi comitis, printed in Arnold I pp 215-20.²

7. fols 54^r-131^r, Historia Regum, printed in Arnold II pp 3-283.

8A. fols 131^v-134^r, John of Hexham, continuation to the Historia Regum. The copyist in 139 has divided this work, apparently arbitrarily, between the entries for the years 1130-8, contained on these

¹This chronicle bears some relation to material in CCCC MS 66 and in Liège University Library 369 C. For details see above p68. It is wrongly attributed to Aelred of Rievaulx in Dictionnaire des Auteurs Cisterciens, La Documentation Cistercienne, vol 16 fasc 1 (Rochefort, Belgium, 1975) col 13.

²For a full discussion of this tract, see Bernard Meehan, 'The siege of Durham, the battle of Carham and the cession of Lothian', SHR 55 (1976) pp 1-19.

fols and printed in Arnold II pp 284-95, and for the years 1138-53 on fols 140^r-149^r (Arnold II pp 297-332)

9. fols 134^r-134^v, extract from the Worcester chronicle attributed to Florence for the year 1133, printed in Arnold II pp 295-6.

10. fols 134^v-135^r, Serlo, verse account of the battle of the Standard, printed in Lawrence of Durham, ed J. Raine, SS 70 (1880) pp 74-6.

11. fols 135^r-135^v, verse account of the defeat and death of Somerled, Lord of the Isles, printed in Arnold II pp 386-8.¹

12. fols 136^r-140^r, Aelred of Rievaulx, tract on the battle of the Standard, printed in Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, ed R. Howlett, 4 vols RS 82 (1885-90) 3 (1886) pp 181-99.

8B. Fols 140^r-149^r, John of Hexham, from 1138-53, printed in Arnold II pp 297-332.

13. fols 149^r-151^v, Aelred of Rievaulx, account of vision experienced by nun of Watton, a Gilbertine house in Yorkshire; printed in PL 195 cols 789-96. See Giles Constable, 'Aelred of Rievaulx and the nun of Watton', Medieval Women, SCH Subsidia I, ed Derek Baker (Oxford 1978) pp 205-26.

14. fols 152^r-154^v, Stephen of Whitby, foundation account of St

¹ On Somerled (d 1164) see Arnold II pp 385-6; A.A.M. Duncan and A.L. Brown, 'Argyll and the Isles in the Earlier Middle Ages', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 90 (1956-7) pp 192-220, at pp 195-8; W.D.H. Sellar, 'The origins and ancestry of Somerled', SHR 45 (1966) pp 123-42.

Mary's York, printed in Monasticon Anglicanum, new ed J. Caley, H. Ellis, B. Bandinel, 6 vols in 8 (London 1846) 3 pp 544-6.

15. fols 154^V, preface to item 16.

16. fols 155^R-160^R, foundation account of Fountains abbey, purporting to be a letter of archbishop Thurstan of York; printed in Memorials of Fountains Abbey I, ed J.R. Walbran, SS 42 (1863) pp 11-29¹. 17-20. fols 160^R-163^V, extracts from William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum: (a) De uita et conuersacione Gereberti pape, printed in Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Regum Anglorum, ed W. Stubbs, 2 vols RS 90 (1887-9) 1 pp 193-201; (b) Uisio Karoli imperatoris, ibid 1 pp 112-3; (c) Uisio Sancti Maurilii, ibid 2 pp 327-8; (d) De anulo statue commendato, ibid 1 p 256.

21. fols 164^R-166^V, fragment of Northumbrian saga. The rubric reads, Narratio de uxore Ernulfi ab Aella rege Deirorum violata; printed in Lestorie des Engles solum Maistre Geffrei Gaimar, ed T.D. Hardy, 2 vols RS 92 (1888-9) 1 pp 328-38.

22. fols 167^R, brief item describing why the church of York should have no jurisdiction in Scotland.

This item is an extract from a letter of prior Nicholas of Worcester to Eadmer, bishop-elect of St Andrews in 1120/1; printed in PL 159

¹ See Baker, 'MS 139' p 100. A new, parallel-text edition is forthcoming in Derek Baker, 'The Genesis of English Cistercian Chronicles. The Foundation History of Fountains Abbey', III, Analecta Cisterciensia. The foundation histories of St Mary's York and Fountains are wrongly attributed to Aelred of Rievaulx in Dictionnaire des Auteurs Cisterciens col 14.

cols 809-12.¹

23. fol 167^v, brief item in which a clerk interrogates the spirit of king Malcolm IV of Scotland appearing to him in a vision; printed in Lawrence of Durham, ed J. Raine, SS 70 (1880) pp 81-2.

24. fols 168^r-168^v, Nennius, Eulogium.

25. fols 169^r-178^v, Historia Brittonum attributed to Nennius, printed in MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi 13 (Berlin 1898), ed T. Mommsen pp 111-222.²

26. fols 178^v-182^v, Life of Gildas, printed ibid pp 107-10.

Secondary references

Hinde pp lxxvii-lxxiii.

Arnold II pp x-xi.

James, Corpus I pp 317-23.

P.H. Blair, 'Some Observations on the "Historia Regum" Attributed to Symeon of Durham', in Celt and Saxon, ed N.K. Chadwick (Cambridge 1963) pp 63-118.

H.S. Offler, 'Hexham and the Historia Regum', TAASDN n s 2 (1970) pp 51-62.

David N. Dumville, 'The Corpus Christi "Nennius"', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 25 (1972-4) pp 369-80

Idem, 'Celtic-Latin Texts in Northern England, c. 1150-c. 1250;', Celtica 12 (Dublin 1977) pp 19-49.

Derek Baker, 'Scissors and paste: Corpus Christi, Cambridge, MS 139 again', SCH 11 (1975) pp 83-123.

¹ See Dumville p 371 n 1.

² See David N. Dumville, 'Nennius and the Historia Brittonum', Studia Celtica 10 (1975).

Structure

M.R. James,¹ followed by Blair,² saw CCC 139 as dividing into two separate sections, gatherings 1-20 (fols 1-167) comprising one volume, and gatherings 21-2 (fols 168-182) comprising another.

Dumville disagreed:

In fact it is inaccurate to say that the codex comprises two parts representing in their make-up two opposed practices. A factor which may very well have influenced James, though he nowhere records it, is the differing dimensions of the written space. However, although the last two quires (fos. 168-82) do indeed vary in this respect from those immediately preceding, the first two quires (fos. 1-16) are also distinguished by this criterion from those which follow; yet there is no suggestion that these should be considered another separate volume. If, alternatively, the number of lines per page were to be the criterion by which the codex should be divided, then fos. 164-7 (quire xx) and fos. 152-61 (quire xix) should belong with the last two quires.... In short, the situation may be described as one of diversity within unity. No presumption that this volume comprises two separate manuscripts, dividing between fos. 167 and 168, has been created. Examination of the whole codex demonstrates such diversity of usage in the first 167 folios that the practice of the last two quires cannot be said to argue for a different origin. 3 -

Most recently, Baker examined this 'diversity of usage.' in detail and demonstrated that MS 139 should be viewed in the first instance not as a unity but as a series of at least seven sections written separately and combined at an early date to form one manuscript.⁴

The sections Baker distinguished are as follows:

¹James p 321.

²Blair p 63.

³Dumville p 370.

⁴Baker, 'MS 139' pp 85-6. The term 'booklet' used by P.R. Robinson might be applied to these sections; see 'Self-contained units in composite manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon period', Anglo-Saxon England 7, ed Peter Clemoes (Cambridge 1978) pp 231-8.

Section 1 (gatherings 1-2, fols 3-18) is distinct in appearance from what follows, the rubrics have been added to it, and signs of wear on its first and last folios show that it existed for a time as a separate volume.

Section 2 (gatherings 3-6, fols 19-53), section 3 (gatherings 7-16, fols 54-135) and section 4 (gatherings 17-18, fols 136-151) probably also formed a separate volume for a time; this is suggested by the condition of the first and last folios of the three sections taken together. Section 2, however, can be distinguished in some ways from sections 3 and 4, and the irregularity of its gatherings (8 fols, 10 fols, 12 fols, 10 fols) contrasts with the 8 folio uniformity of sections 3 and 4. In section 3, there may be a subdivision between gatherings 9 and 10. Fol 78 marks the end of gathering 9; fol 79 is the first of gathering 10. In the Historia Regum, the series of annals ends on fol 78^r with the year 957. On the same folio there follows a heading which begins, Sequitur recapitulatio superiorum de rege elfredo. Instead of this recapitulatio, however, four extracts from the Gesta Regum of William of Malmesbury appear under the rubric, De historia Willelmi Malmesbirie. The promised recapitulatio appears eventually on fol 79^r at the start of a new gathering.¹

Section 5 (gathering 19, fols 152-163) also shows signs of use

¹Ibid p 109 n 9; see below pp 228-9.

as a separate volume, and has 35 lines to the page, in contrast to the 36 line format of most of the manuscript.

Section 6 (gathering 20, fols 164-167) now comprises only half a gathering of 8 folios. It has 35 lines to the page, and has no direct connection with the rest of the manuscript.

Section 7 (gatherings 21-22, fols 168-182), which James and Blair correctly saw as a separate volume, also has 35 lines to the page, and is quite distinct in appearance from preceding sections.

Baker thus distinguished seven sections in all, despite thinking that there may be several subdivisions in sections 2, 3, and 4 (gatherings 3-18, fols 19-151). He felt, however, as explained above, that there are four main sections in all, leaving aside the fragmentary twentieth gathering from his consideration. This division into four main sections is, I think, a valid one, though there are difficulties in accepting that gatherings 3-18 (fols 19-151) form a complete unity in all respects, despite the identity or at least great similarity of hand throughout these gatherings; the apparently arbitrary division of John of Hexham's work into two parts is one notable difficulty.¹ But it seems to me that Baker should not have concluded that gathering 20 has 'no direct connection' with the rest of the manuscript. Since this gathering is probably in the same hand as fols 152^r-154^v of gathering 19, I am inclined to group it along with gathering 19 in what Baker terms 'section five'.

¹Ibid pp 97-8

Despite this division into seven or at least four sections, it is clear that MS 139 was in its present form and order by the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. This is shown by the fact that marginalia of this period occur in a number of hands in different sections. The roman numerals which mark each gathering are from the same period, and it is interesting to note that the gathering number XVI appeared originally on fol 134^v but was then erased and entered, in a different hand, on fol 135^v. It is therefore possible that, as Dumville suggested, fol 135 is 'an additional leaf inserted at a later date',¹ though it should be pointed out that if this folio is an addition to the gathering it must be an exceptionally early addition, since it is written recto and verso in the same hand as the rest of the gathering, and since Serlo's account of the battle of the Standard, which starts on fol 134^v, continues on fol 135^r, the recto of this allegedly added leaf.

To sum up, MS 139 breaks down into four main sections, in the middle two of which subdivisions can probably be noted. These four sections are (1) gatherings 1-2, fols 3-18; (2) gatherings 3-18, fols 19-151; (3) gatherings 19-20, fols 152-167; (4) gatherings 21-22, fols 168-182.

¹Dumville p 371.

139 is written in a variety of hands from roughly the same date in the second half of the twelfth century. It also contains a great number of footnotes and marginal additions in at least ten different twelfth or early thirteenth-century hands, some of which appear in more than one section. Much remains to be done on the dating, identification and priority of these marginalia, though Dumville's work on 139 consists largely of a study of the additions made to the Nennius material in the final section (gatherings 21-22, fols 168-182).¹ The influence of these annotations on the traditional text of the Historia Regum is examined below.

Changes in hand are one very strong reason for the division into the sections argued above. One hand was responsible for the first section (gatherings 1-2, fols 3-18) and another for the final section (gatherings 21-22, fols 168-182). With the intervening sections it is less easy to be precise. Section 2 (gatherings 3-18, fols 19-151) seems to be written, apart from rubrics, substantially at least in very similar and contemporary main hands.²

Baker's contention that fol 79^r is in a different hand from fol 78^v is not one I support, though textual difficulties and contradictions within this part of the manuscript and the scribal practice of filling originally blank leaves at the end of gatherings with subsidiary material, make it highly probable that in

¹ Ibid pp 374-9.

² James, Corpus¹ p 318 seems to agree.

some gatherings the scribe (or perhaps scribes) was copying miscellaneous material from a variety of sources rather than from one coordinated source. It has been thought that this scribe should be identified with the scribe in CUL Ff.1.27 fols 46^r-77^v,¹ but the identification does not strike me as valid, though I agree that the hands are notably similar.

In section 3 (gatherings 19-20, fols 152-167) two other main hands can be seen. The first of these was responsible for the foundation account of St Mary's York on fols 152^r-154^v in gathering 19, and probably also for the material in gathering 20 (fols 164-167). The second scribe in this section wrote the 'letter of Thurstan' on fols 155^r-160^r, and the extracts from William of Malmesbury which conclude this gathering. The Fountains dating clause on fol 154^{vb}, which acts as a preface to the 'letter of Thurstan', may be in a different hand from the foundation account of St Mary's York, which precedes it, and the 'letter of Thurstan', which follows it.² The last three lines of fol 163^{vb} are probably again in a different hand.

Dating

Hinde dated CCCC 139 to c 1180.³ James indicated simply a late

¹ See above p 54.

² Here I differ from Baker (p 100), who felt that all three items are in the same hand.

³ Hinde p lxxi.

twelfth-century date.¹ Blair suggested a date c 1170 for the manuscript as a whole, apart from gatherings 21-22 (fols 168-182), which he ignored in his discussion.² The incipit to the Historia Regum (discussed below) he dated September 1164.³ Dumville agreed and suggested further that the whole manuscript was written in 1164. He dismissed Offler's warning that the rubric to the Historia Regum may have been copied from an exemplar,⁴ and noted, then likewise dismissed, that two items appear to suggest a date later than 1164. The verse account of the defeat and death of Somerled in 1164 on fol 135^{r/v} occurs, Dumville argued, in a folio inserted at a later date. As I indicate above, however, fol 135 is in the same hand as the rest of gathering 16 (fols 127-135) and cannot reasonably be regarded as a separate part of the gathering. The other item which Dumville thought might suggest a date after 1164 is the brief account on fol 167^v of the vision of king Malcolm IV of Scotland (d 1165) experienced by a clerk. He noted that 'this, however, occurs in quire XX which may be a somewhat later addition to the volume. The script of these four leaves presents an aspect different from that in the rest of the manuscript'.⁵ Dumville failed to explain how he reconciled this statement with his earlier assertion that CCC 139 should be regarded as a unity, that 'the

¹ James p 317. ² Blair p 70. ³ Ibid p 78.

⁴ Offler, 'Historia Regum' p 60 n 20, ⁵ Dumville p 371.

situation may be described as one of diversity within unity¹,
 and also failed to see that the hand in gathering 20 is the same
 as that at the beginning of gathering 19 (fols 152-163) fols
 152^r-154^v. Dumville concluded that 'the dating of the manu-
 script to 1164 may therefore be reaffirmed' and that 'a supporting
terminus ante quem of 1166 is happily provided by the evidence of
 another manuscript'.² He went on to show that revisions in the
 text of Nennius, Historia Brittonum in MS 139 fols 169^r-178^v were
 copied into Durham Cathedral Library B.II.35 fols 119^v-126^r in 1166.³
 Dumville's mistake was, I think, in not recognising the composite
 nature of MS 139 and in thus extending this date to the rest of the
 manuscript. But his dating MS 139 to 1164-66 is in any case not
 convincing. The terminus a quo 1164 rests on very shaky foundations,
 while the terminus ante quem 1166 can apply only to that section which
 contains the Historia Brittonum, section 7 (gatherings 21-22, fols
 168-182).

As Baker pointed out, MS 139 must be dated on a sectional
 basis.⁵ The first section (gatherings 1-2, fols 3-18) ends with
 a list of popes to Calixtus II (1119-24), though the date of writ-
 ing is clearly later than this. Baker noted that what he calls

¹ Ibid p 370.

² Ibid p 371.

³ Ibid pp 372-3. My foliation for B.II.35; Dumville is here fol-
 lowing Mynors' foliation, which is a little eccentric. See
 below p 161.

⁴ See below pp 113-5.

⁵ For what follows see Baker, 'MS 139' pp 94-7.

section six (gathering 20, fols 164-167) ends with a reference to the late king Malcolm IV of Scotland, who died in 1165. He could find no precise date for the 'fifth section' (gathering 19, fols 152-163). In the light, however, of my belief that gatherings 19 and 20 should be grouped together,¹ the date 1165 can be applied also to gathering 19. Baker's 'section two' (gatherings 3-6, fols 19-53) includes a reference to Richard of Hexham (still alive in the period 1161-7) as pie memorie. In Symeon's letter to dean Hugh of York, a list of archbishops of York ends with Roger of Bishopsbridge, archbishop from 1154-81. In the tract which follows De obsessione Dunelmi, there is a reference to Sumerlede qui usque hodie superest; this may possibly be a mistaken reference to Somerled, Lord of the Isles, whose death in 1164 is discussed later on fol 135^{r/v}.

In Baker's 'section three' (gatherings 7-16, fols 54-135) the latest references are to the death of Somerled in 1164, and in the Historia Regum to abbots Clement of York (1161-84) and Richard of Whitby (1148-75).

In Baker's 'section four' (gatherings 17-18, fols 136-151), Aelred of Rievaulx's works on the battle of the Standard and the nun of Watton were probably composed between 1155-7 and 1158-65 (probably 1160). The second part of John of Hexham's continuation to the Historia Regum ends in 1153, while the author is

¹See above p 102.

first known as prior of Hexham in 1161.

The dates Baker gives for these three sections are, therefore, 1161-4/7, 1164-75, and after 1161/5. If, as argued above, gatherings 3-18 (fols 19-151) should probably be regarded as one section, the dates for these gatherings can be narrowed a little. But it should be emphasised that these dates are, as Baker says, 'the chronological limits of composition'¹ of the works contained in MS 139, and should not necessarily be mistaken for the dates when the scribes of 139 were at work, especially since it seems clear that the manuscript is the work of copyists rather than authors. MS 139 cannot, therefore, be dated with absolute precision, and Hinde's conjecture 'c 1180' may after all be the closest approximation possible.

Rubrics to the Historia Regum

The rubrics to the Historia Regum, which are the sole manuscript authority for ascribing the work to Symeon, and which have been the cause of some discussion, appear on fols 53^v and 131^v. They read: on fol 53^v:

Incipit historia sancte et suavis memorie Symeonis monachi et precentoris ecclesie sancti Cuthberti Dunelmi de regibus anglorum et dacorum et creberrimis bellis, rapinis, et incendiis eorum post obitum venerabilis Bede presbyteri fere usque ad obitum regis primi Henrici filii Willelmi nothi qui angliam adquisiuit, id est, cccc.xxix. annorum.et.iiii mensium.

¹Baker, 'MS 139' p 97.

On fol 131^v:

Explicit historia suavis et sancte memorie Symeonis monachi et
precentoris ecclesie sancti Cuthberti Dunelmi. annorum. cccc. xxix.
et mensium quatuor. 1

Both are, I think, in the same hand.

The first point to be made is that, as Blair indicated, they closely resemble in language the rubrics in CUL Ff.1.27 fols 46^r and 50^r which ascribe authorship of the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae to Symeon, particularly the rubric in Ff.1.27 fol 50^r, with its use of the phrase sancte et suavis memorie.² Blair suggested that these rubrics were all composed by the same person, which seems possible, and that they are in the same hand, which is a conclusion I do not support.³ The similarity led Blair, as it had led Mommsen, to the conclusion that 139 was written at Sawley. This was based on the assumption, which must be regarded as erroneous, that Ff.1.27 was the work of Sawley scribes.⁴ It is argued above that Ff.1.27 was written in Durham but that the rubrics to the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae should probably be regarded as slightly later additions which were perhaps written elsewhere. There are some indications that Ff.1.27 may have been at Sawley,⁵ though, unlike CCC 66 and 139, there is no ex libris to support this contention, but there

¹ Blair's transcription (p 75) reads quattuor.

² Ibid pp 74-5.

³ Ibid pp 75-6, and see above p 61.

⁴ See above p 80.

⁵ See above p 83.

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seems no evidence pointing to Sawley as the place where the rubrics were written. Likewise, there is nothing conclusive to suggest where the 139 rubrics were written, though they too seem to have been added later. The incipit in particular appears in a very odd place, a fact crucial to considerations of the nature of the Historia Regum itself. It occurs on the last eight lines of the second column of fol 53^V. Seventeen lines above have been left blank, and the first eleven lines of the column are occupied by the end of the previous item. Blair pointed out that either 'the rubricator was ill-informed about the content of the work whose beginning his rubric was intended to mark, or else, and perhaps the alternatives are not exclusive, that when he came to add the rubric after the work itself had been copied, he found that no space had been left at the right place and he therefore wrote it in the nearest convenient blank space.¹ This 'nearest convenient blank space' is not, however, by any means the most appropriate; since, as Blair noted, the rubric is followed on fol 54^R by another rubric in a different hand - Incipit passio sanctorum Ethelberti atque Ethelredi regie stirpis puerorum - which heralds material not, as the rubric on fol 53^V promises, from after the death of Bede but (up to fol 62^V) from before Bede's death. There can be little doubt that in its present position the rubric on fol 53^V is an accident. What Blair did not mention is that it occurs

¹Blair p 77.

at the end of gathering 6 (fols 44-53) and that the passio of Saints Ethelbert and Ethelred occurs at the beginning of gathering 7 (fols 54-62). It may be significant that it is at this point, between gatherings 6 and 7, that Baker distinguished between what he called sections two and three. It is of course true that these two sections are closely connected, but if the rubric to the Historia Regum can be seen as occurring in a different section or subsection from the text of the work, it may be possible to argue that it was added only after the two sections were combined (along with Baker's 'section four') into one volume. It is interesting that fol 53^{vb} contains the only blank space where an incipit could have been added, though it seems at best debatable whether the scribe of the text could have intended it to be used in this way. On fol 131^v, where the explicit to the Historia Regum and the incipit to John of Hexham both occur in the same hand, there is likewise no certainty that rubrics were ever intended by the main scribe. In column a, the first eight lines have been taken up with the end of the Historia Regum, the next three lines are blank, and the explicit occurs on the next five lines. Right at the foot of the column is the incipit to John of Hexham, whose Historia starts at the top of column b. The blank space left by the scribe clearly signifies the end of one source and the beginning of another, but it seems possible to argue that he did not necessarily intend the space to be filled with rubrics. If he had, he would presumably have left space at the top of column b. More needs to be done before any final judgement can be made, but it may be remarked

that this one rubricator is entirely responsible for all future knowledge of and opinions on the authorship of the Historia which he ascribed to John of Hexham,¹ and of the Historia Regum, whose rubrics Baker has fittingly described as 'procrustean',² and Blair has described as imposing 'an artificial unity'.³ Finding a large mass of anonymous material, the rubricator may have felt the need to provide it with an author. His choice of Symeon for the first anonymous section may have been influenced by knowledge of the letter to dean Hugh of York on fols 50^v-52^r of MS 139 and just possibly also by knowledge of the rubrics to the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae in Ff.1.27. But even if Ff.1.27 was known to the rubricator of 139, or if the alternative was true, it should be stressed that this is no help in deciding where the interest in propagating Symeon's reputation as a historian was rooted.

Apart from their position, the other main problem presented by the rubrics lies in the inaccuracy of the chronological limits they claim for the material they encompass. The incipit defines the work as stretching from the death of Bede almost as far as the death of king Henry I, that is, cccc.xxix annorum et iiii mensium. Blair commented that

¹The copy in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS nouv. acq. lat 692 does not mention an author.

²Baker 'MS 139' p 109 n 9.

³Blair p 76.

The reference to Henry as the first king of that name will at once suggest that this rubric was not composed until after the accession of Henry II in 1154. The explicit follows the entry for 1129, six years before the death of Henry I, and there can be no doubt that it is to this year 1129 that the phrase fere usque ad obitum regis primi Henrici refers, but the interval between the death of Bede(735) and the year 1129 is not 429 years and 4 months as the rubric states. If we subtract 429 from 1129 we reach the date 700 which has no particular significance for the Historia Regum, nor do we reach any more significant date by subtracting 429 from 1153, the year in which Prior John's Continuation ends. The alternative, and seemingly most natural, course is to add 429 years and 4 months to the date of Bede's death, and this will give September 1164, a date far beyond the point to which the current of the Historia Regum reaches. Yet this date has a clear significance, not so much for item 7 itself, the Historia Regum, as for the whole book of which it forms a part. We have seen that the latest events to which this book refers are the death of Somerled in 1164 (item 11) and the death of Malcolm IV of Scotland in 1165 (item 23). The reasonable conclusion is that September 1164 marks the date by which the copying of the Historia Regum at Sawley had been completed and the rubrics themselves written. 1

Baker indicated objections to Blair's argument:

It demands that the rubricator be sufficiently alert to describe the Historia Regum more or less correctly as spanning the period from the death of Bede almost to the death of Henry I (1129), and sufficiently muddled to calculate the span of time to his own day, and give it as 429 years and four months.... It might seem as plausible to suggest 'ccccxxix' as a misreading of 'mcxxix', the terminal date of the Historia Regum. Nor is it altogether satisfactory to identify the inconsistencies of the copyists with the practice of the rubricator. The rubrics themselves need to be treated with caution. 2

This view seems on the whole far more plausible than Blair's, though the exact significance of the reference to quatuor mensium, which appears in both incipit and explicit, is not explained. It seems

¹ Ibid pp 77-8.

² Baker, 'MS 139' pp 96-7 n 67.

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unlikely that the reference is to the month of April 1129, since the Historia Regum ends in December of that year.^{1A} Nor is the puzzling claim of the rubric that the work starts with the death of Bede made any clearer. Perhaps there is no explanation which answers all the problems.¹

Provenance

MS 139 has been attributed to various houses. Arnold suggested the Augustinian canons' house of Hexham,² Mommsen suggested the Cistercian house of Sawley.³ James agreed with Arnold,⁴ but Blair agreed with Mommsen, and the question was apparently closed by the discovery on fol 2^r of an erased Sawley ex libris from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.⁵ Despite this, Offler warned that 'it may have come to Sawley as the result of gift or purchase'.⁶ Dumville regarded this as merely a 'formal caveat',⁷ and assumed

^{1A} Arnold II p 283.

¹ In ccccxxix there may be echoes of the ccccxviii years from the death of St Cuthbert to 1104, a computation which became something of an idée fixe in Durham (Arnold pp 247, 261; II pp 236); or there may have been confusion with ccccxlix, the start of the DPSA (ibid II p 367).

² Arnold II p x.

³ MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 13 (Berlin 1898) p 124.

⁴ James p 323. G.W.S. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots (London 1973) p 200 noted that 139 has 'strong Hexham and Scottish connexions'.

⁵ Blair pp 74-6, 118. For an ultra-violet photograph of the ex libris, see Dumville plate II, facing p 377.

⁶ Offler, 'Historia Regum' p 52.

⁷ Dumville p 372 n 3; idem, 'Celtic-Latin Texts in Northern England c. 1150-c. 1250', Celtica 12 (Dublin 1977) pp 19-49.

139 to be the work of Sawley scribes. Baker, however, has argued that 139 was probably written at the Cistercian house of Fountains and given at an early date to Sawley, a daughter house of Newminster, itself the eldest daughter of Fountains. Briefly, he reached this conclusion after study of the relation of the 'letter of Thurstan' (which describes the foundation of Fountains after the secession from St Mary's York) in 139 to the version in the Fountains manuscript Oxford, Corpus Christi College D 209, and argues that this Oxford manuscript is a direct copy of MS 139.¹ As Baker emphasised, the Fountains attribution can strictly be extended only to that particular section of the manuscript which contains the 'letter of Thurstan', section 3 (gatherings 19-20, fols 152-167), and the separate nature of this section is emphasised by its lacking the quantity and variety of additions and marginalia found elsewhere in the manuscript. Though it can be demonstrated that 139 was in its present order and form by the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, it seems possible to suggest that other sections were written in Durham. Section 4 (gatherings 21-22, fols 168-182) contains the Historia Brittonum and a life of Gildas both of which Dumville has shown were used to enact improvements and revisions in Durham Dean and Chapter Library B.II.35. In the Historia Brittonum, these revisions were introduced

¹ Baker, 'MS 139' pp 101-2.

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to MS B. II. 35 in the year 1166. The 139 Historia Brittonum, which has been shown to be from the same exemplar as Liège University Library MS 369 C fols 130^r-142^r, was also used to produce 'a copy, with amplifications' of the text in CUL Ff.1.27 fols 11^r-20^v. This is 'readily demonstrable', and was so demonstrated by Mommsen. Dumville's deductions from all this do not, however, strike me as valid:

that such a carefully-prepared recension should have been composed and incorporated into a finely-produced manuscript at Sawley perhaps in itself constitutes a prima facie case in favour of the view that all the changes effected in the text contained in MS. 139 were themselves executed at Sawley with the aim of producing a completely revised text.

He went on:

I have attempted to discover conclusive evidence for the influence of the main text of B.2.35 in the variant readings and corrections of CCCC 139, but quite without success. This would seem to me to indicate that the Sawley manuscript was sent to Durham so that the Durham text might be 'improved' thereby.

Dumville's views are based on the assumption that MSS 139 and Ff.1.27 are both the work of Sawley scribes. That this is an untenable assumption for 139 has been shown by Baker. That Ff.1.27 and Liège University Library MS 369C were probably produced in Durham is argued elsewhere.³ MS B.II.35 has itself never left Durham. Of the four manuscripts known by Dumville to have been involved in the revision of the text of the Historia Brittonum, three (Liège

¹ Ibid p 372.

² Ibid p 373.

³ See above pp 80-4 ; below pp 138-42

U.L.369 C, Ff.1.27 and B.II.35) can be shown with a reasonable degree of certainty to have been written in Durham. In the case of 139, there is no such certainty, but it makes sense that the rough copy MS 139 contains of the Historia Brittonum should have been considered expendable in Durham once its readings had been transferred to B.II.35 and later to Ff.1.27. This conclusion seems highly preferable to Dumville's conviction that the text in 139 was written and corrected at Sawley and then sent to improve a Durham copy of the work. From what is known of Sawley in this and subsequent periods, and in view of the relative resources of the two houses,¹ such a conjecture seems both unlikely and unnecessary. Dumville has remarked too on the interest in St Andrews shown by MS 139 and has suggested a link between Sawley and St Andrews which may account for this.² The argument is valid, but the ties between Durham and St Andrews, seen for example in the election to the Scottish archbishopric of prior Turgot in 1107, need no stressing.

Other sections of 139 may perhaps also have had a Durham origin. Miss Meryl Foster of Girton College Cambridge has kindly told me that in her opinion the text of Regino of Prüm in Durham Cathedral Library C.IV.15, a manuscript of the earlier twelfth century, was the exemplar for MS 139 fols 19^r-37^v,³ and though I

¹See Baker, 'MS 139' p 104, and above pp 85-8.

²David N. Dumville, 'The textual history of the Welsh-Latin Historia Brittonum' (University of Edinburgh Ph.D. 1976) p 916.

³I regret that W.-R. Schleidgen, Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der Chronik des Regino von Prüm (Mainz 1977) has come to my attention too recently for me to have yet seen it.

have not yet had an opportunity to check this, it seems at least plausible and would give a probable Durham origin to section 2 of MS 139. The bulk of 139 comprises this section, 132 out of a total of 182 folios, and includes the Historia Regum. This is written in a hand not unlike the major hand of Ff.1.27 and the hand of Cotton Caligula A.viii fols 28-58, thought by Mynors to be a Durham product.¹ The three manuscripts are palaeographically not identical, but are perhaps sufficiently similar to suggest the same scriptorium. Another important consideration is the large number of marginalia in the text of the HR, discussed at length below pp 183-221. A great number of these are of Durham interest, and it seems possible to think of this section of 139, like the last, as having left Durham when better copies, no longer extant, became available there, though there are textual difficulties in this argument, chiefly that the text overlaid here may itself represent the Hexham overlay on a lost Durham original.²

Conclusion

MS 139 was at Sawley by the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, though it was not written there. Gatherings 19-20 (fols 152-167) were written at Fountains, and gatherings 21-22 (fols 168-182) were written in Durham. It is not possible to say with certainty where gatherings 1-18 (fols 3-151) were written, though

¹Mynors pp 7-8.

²See below p 218.

Durham is again a strong possibility.¹ It may well have been at Fountains that the various sections were first combined into one volume. Baker observed that Symeon's correspondent, dean Hugh of York, was an early recruit to Fountains (c 1135) and brought with him a number of books, which were perhaps damaged or destroyed in the mid-twelfth century when the house was burnt in the course of the York election dispute. MS 139 may have been intended to replace texts thus lost, and may then have moved to Sawley through the agency of Stephen of Easton, who was successively cellarer of Fountains under two abbots, John of Ely (1209-20) and John of Kent (1220-47), abbot of Sawley c 1125, abbot of Newminster (Sawley's mother house) by 1234, and abbot of Fountains between 1247 and his death in 1252.²

Finally, it must be admitted that in such a complex and contentious manuscript as 139, my views, like those of all who have so far worked on it, can be regarded as only provisional and not conclusive.

¹ It may tentatively be suggested that one reason for the appearance in 139 of the carmen on Somerled (fol 135r/v) was because of the grant to Durham by Somerled's son Dufgal in 1175; see A.C. Lawrie, Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William Kings of Scotland A.D. 1153-1214 (Glasgow 1910) p 204.

² Baker, 'MS 139' pp 97 n 74, 104-5.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 692 (BN 692)

BN 692 contains annals which, Todd and Offler suggested, are dependent on the Historia Regum attributed to Symeon and on its continuation attributed to John of Hexham.¹

Description and collation

110 fols; 265 x 150 mm; modern binding.

single columns; 34, 35, and 36 lines, ruled with a plummet.

gatherings of 8 fols. Three fols were removed after fol 56 after a new gathering was inserted to carry the continuation to the chronicle from 1153 to 1164. On the first 3 fols and at the top of folio the recto of the fourth of this new gathering was copied that part of the chronicle which had been on fols 57^r-60^v. The former fol 60^r (now fol 65^r), containing part of the annal for 1153, had to be retained, since the de excidio Trojae began on its verso. The added gathering ends on fol 64^v in the middle of a speech; as Todd and Offler pointed out,² distortion in the binding indicates that there may originally have been another added gathering which is now lost.

Contents

1. fols 1^r-60^r, chronicle from 793-1153. From 793-1129 this is related to the Historia Regum attributed to Symeon of Durham; from 1130 to 1153 (fols 42^v-60^r) it contains the full text of the chronicle of John of Hexham with the exception of one passage³ found in

¹Todd and Offler p 152.

²See below p 23. BN 692 lacks too the marginal additions to John of Hexham which are in CCCC 139.

³Ibid p 151.

CCCC 139 fols 131^V-134^R, 140^R-149^R, and printed in Arnold II pp 284-332. A fourteenth-century title on fol 1^R reads Liber de gestis Anglorum.

2. fols 60^R-64^V, continuation to the chronicle, including notes of Scottish interest, from 1152 to 1162, followed by extracts down to 1164 from the Opuscula of Ralph de Diceto.

fol 65^R, part of the annal for 1153 from the chronicle of John of Hexham.

3. fols 65^V-80^V, Dares Phrygius, de excidio Trojae.

4. fols 81^R-107^V, Fulcher of Chartres, Gesta Francorum Jherusalem peregrinantium.

5. fols 108^R-110^R, anonymous verses on the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

Secondary references

L. Delisle, 'Vente de manuscrits du comte d'Ashburnham', Journal des Savants (Paris June 1899) pp 330-2.

James, Corpus, 1 p 319.

Regesta Regum Scottorum I: Acts of Malcolm IV, ed G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh 1960) pp 7 n 3, 8 n 3, 14 n 1.

H.S. Offler, 'A Note on the Early History of Priory of Carlisle', TCWAAS n s 65 (1965) pp 176-81.

J.M. Todd and H.S. Offler, 'A medieval chronicle from Scotland', SHR 47 (1968) pp 151-9.¹

Hands and dating

Fols 1^R-56^V, 65^V-107^V are in a late twelfth-century hand which

¹Todd and Offler mistakenly noted (p 154) that the annal for 1018 is on fol 30^R... It is in fact on fol 20^R. The mistake is repeated in Offler, 'Historia Regum' p 57.

it is not possible to date with more precision.

Fols 57^r-64^v (the added gathering) contains material from the Opuscula of Ralph de Diceto which can be dated 1195/7.¹ The hand used in this gathering appears to be only slightly later than the hand used for the main part of the manuscript, and seems to be of the early thirteenth century. In my opinion, the added gathering is the work of one scribe; I do not support Todd and Offler's suggestion that there may be a change of hand beginning at the annal for 1162.²

Fols 108^r-110^r (verses on Jerusalem) are in a fifteenth-century hand.

Provenance

Todd and Offler attributed BN 692 to a Scottish house, very tentatively to the Augustinian house of Jedburgh (founded c 1138).³ While a Scottish origin is certainly likely in the case of the inserted gathering (fols 57-64), which contains a letter of pope Alexander III to the Scottish bishops, and has extracts from annals common to the chronicles of Melrose and Holyrood, this Scottish attribution cannot necessarily be extended to the main part of the manuscript. Todd and Offler noted that BN 692 does not contain the eulogy on archbishop Thurstan of York which appears in the copy of

¹Todd and Offler p 156.

²Ibid.

³Ibid pp 156-7.

the Historia Regum in CCCC 139 fol 141^r.¹ They suggested that

A Scottish chronicler would see no reason to expatiate on the merits of an archbishop of York whose claims to ecclesiastical authority in Scotland had been pressed hard and firmly resisted.²

In the added gathering, however, among items of Scottish interest, appears a highly favourable entry on archbishop William Fitzherbert of York.³ It might be argued that since Fitzherbert did not pursue York's claims in Scotland with the vigour of his predecessor, a Scottish writer was more likely to view him with favour. But the tone of this entry does not suggest an inherent animosity in Scotland towards the York archbishopric, and the absence of a eulogy on Thurstan does not seem sufficiently strong evidence to indicate a Scottish provenance for the main part of BN 692, which, in an unaltered state, may have gone north from an English house, just possibly Hexham, which, like Jedburgh, was also Augustinian.

Conclusion

BN 692, apart from a fifteenth-century addition, was written in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in the north of England or south of Scotland, and at a later, though close, date had a section with particular Scottish associations added to it.

¹ Arnold II pp 302-6

² Todd and Offler p 152.

³ See below p 261.

¹
Liège University Library MS 369 C (Liège)

Liège contains the De Primo Saxonum Adventu and annals from 1066 to 1119 which apart from some small differences of work order and spelling are the same as in BL Cotton Caligula A.viii and which are commonly held to be an abbreviation of the Historia Regum.

Description and Collation

i + 149 folios, of which 145 were numbered in modern times; 252 x 166mm; binding fourteenth-century (?), perhaps over original boards.

Single columns; 31 lines, ruled with a plummet.

Gatherings 1-8 (fols 1-64) are of 8 fols each.

Gathering 9 (fols 65-74) is of 10 fols.

Gathering 10 (fols 75-82) is of 8 fols.

Gathering 11 (fols 83-87) is of 5 fols, though was originally of 8; the first, third and fourth leaves have been removed.

Gathering 12 (fols 88-95) is of 8 fols.

Gathering 13 (fols 96-99) is of 4 fols, though was originally of 6; the last two leaves have been removed.

Gathering 14 (fols 100-107) is of 8 fols.

Gathering 15 (fols 108-115) is also of 8 fols.

Gathering 16 (fols 116-121) is of 6 fols, though was originally of 8; the fourth and fifth leaves have been removed.

¹ See Bernard Meehan, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth, Prophecies of Merlin: New Manuscript Evidence, Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 28 (1978-80) pp 37-46.

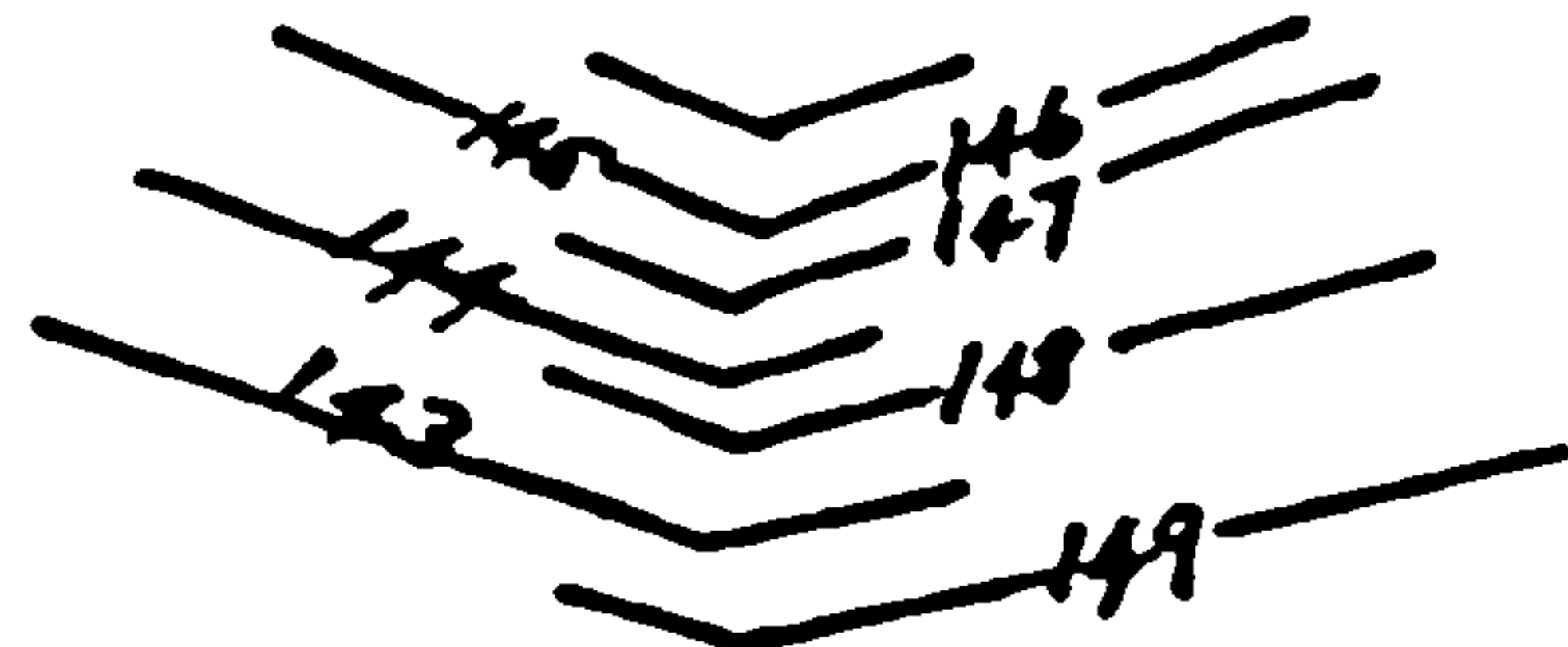
Gathering 17 (fols 122-129) is of 8 fols.

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Gathering 18 (fols 130-137) is also of 8 fols.

Gathering 19 (fols 138-142) is of 5 fols though was originally of 6; the last leaf has been removed.

Gathering 20 (fols 143-149) is of 7 leaves, though was originally of 14; it is perhaps best represented in diagrammatic form:



Gathering 20 is fragmented, but was perhaps always so, since the text of the Prophecies of Merlin is unbroken up to the point where it stops, abruptly and before the end of the work, at the end of fol 145^v. Fols 146-7 were left blank in the twelfth century, and probably fols 148-9 likewise, though it is not possible to be certain, since these last two leaves cannot now be detached completely from the binding; but the remainder of the text was perhaps contained in what may once have been a complete bifolium between fols 145 and 146.¹ This is now a mere fragment of parchment, and if the manuscript is ever rebound, care should be taken that it is retained, and that the leaves are not trimmed.

The manuscript breaks down into two separate sections which are very closely connected in hands, initials, dating and provenance. Part I comprised gatherings 1-9 (fols 1-74) and gatherings

¹ It may, however, be significant that other works in the manuscript - Eutropius and William of Jumièges - are also apparently left unfinished

18-19 (fols 130-42). Roman numerals from i to xi appear in the main hand on the lower margin of the first folio of gathering 1 (fols 8^v) and on the first folio of subsequent gatherings (fols 9^r, 17^r, 25^r, 33^r, 41^r, 49^r, 57^r, 65^r, 130^r, 138^r). Part II, which is not distinguished by gathering numbers, comprises gatherings 10-17 (fols 75-129) and gathering 20 (fols 143-9). D'Ardenne was quite mistaken in thinking that the hand of this last gathering belongs to Part I.¹

Contents

fol i, flyleaf.

1. fols 1^r-73^r, Eutropius, Breviarium Historiae Romanae; printed in PL 95 cols 739-1144.
2. fols 73^v-74^v, summary of Roman emperors, from Octavian to Leo Augustus.
3. fols 75^r-83^v, De imperatore Octaviano, Et Ceteris Romanorum Imperatoribus.² The original hand ends on 83^v with a brief note on the emperor Henry II, and a nearly contemporary hand continues the account to Henry V (1106-25).³

¹ D'Ardenne (1962) p 85.

² The manuscript reads inperatore and inperatoribus.

³ Much work remains to be done on the possible debt of the material in fols 75^r-83^v to the Imago Mundi of Honorius Augustodunensis, who has lately been the subject of considerable critical attention; see, for example, M.-O. Garrigues, 'Quelques recherches sur l'oeuvre d'Honorius Augustodunensis', Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique 70 (Louvain 1975) pp 388-425; and the work of V.I.J. Flint in Revue Bénédictine 82. 85 (Abbaye de Maredsous Belgium, 1972, 1975) and ibid 87 (1977) pp 97-127, at pp 114-15 for comments on difficulties involved in identifying the Imago Mundi.

4. fols 84^r-87^v, list of popes, ending in the original hand with Honorius II (1124-30).
5. fol 87^v, extract from Sidonius Apollinaris, Carmen V, ll. 40-9,¹ panegyric on the emperor Majorianus, delivered at Lyons in 485; printed in Sidonius, Poems and Letters, ed. W.B. Anderson, 2 vols (London 1936) p 64.²
6. fols 88^r-99^v, the 'De Primo Saxonum Adventu'. This tract is followed by an 'abbreviation' of the 'Historia Regum' attributed to Symeon of Durham. A half-page drawing of Woden and his descendants is on fol 88^v.
7. fols 100^r-129^r, William of Jumièges, Gesta Normannorum Ducum; printed in Guillaume de Jumièges, Gesta Normannorum Ducum, ed Jean Marx (Société de l'histoire de Normandie, Rouen and Paris, 1914).
8. fols 130^r-142^r, the Historia Brittonum attributed to Nennius, here attributed to Gildas; printed in MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, ed T. Mommsen (Berlin 1898) pp 111-222.

¹ I am very grateful to Mr. Alan Hood of the University of Edinburgh for this identification.

² The initial letters of each line were left for the rubricator, but were not supplied. The verse is added on the lower half of what had originally been left as a blank verso. Curiously, it does not form a coherent extract on its own, since it begins at ergo (l. 40) and stops at defert (l. 49), short of the end of the sentence. The poem describes how the allegorical figure of Roma bellatrix receives tribute from the whole world, a theme which fits well with the other Roman material in the manuscript. On Sidonius see C.E. Stevens, Sidonius Apollinaris and his Age (Oxford 1933).

9. fols 143^r-145^v, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Prophecies of Merlin.¹

Secondary references

M. Fiess and M. Grandjean, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège. Catalogue des manuscrits (Liège 1875) pp 330, 357.

L. Delisle, 'Recueil historique de la Bibliothèque de Liège', Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes 44 (1883) pp 388-92.

Guillaume de Jumièges, Gesta Normannorum Ducum, ed Jean Marx (Société de l'histoire de Normandie, Rouen and Paris 1914) p xxxii.

S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne in (1) English and Medieval Studies presented to J.R.R. Tolkien, ed N. Davies and C.L. Wrenn (London 1962) pp 84-93; (2) English Studies 44 (1963) pp 128-30; (3) Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of Margaret Schlauch, ed I. Dobrzycka et al. (Warsaw 1966) pp 31-5; (4) Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune (Gembloux 1969) pp 1-4.

Dumville p 374.

Treasures of Belgian Libraries, National Library of Scotland 1 July - 14 September 1963 (Edinburgh 1963) p 28.

Andre Crépin, 'Bede and the Vernacular', in Famulus Christi; Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede, ed Gerald Bonner (London 1976) pp 170-92, at p 183.

Hands

Part I is written throughout in one hand. Part II, in an almost identical though slightly smaller hand, is characterized by the use of browner ink than Part I. D'Ardenne suggested rightly that both parts can be ascribed to the same scriptorium,² a view which is

¹ The Prophecies form book seven of the Historia Regum Britanniae; See E. Foral, La Legende Arthurienne, 3 vols (Paris 1929) III.

² d'Ardenne (1962) p 85.

confirmed by the distinctive initials in red, blue, and, less often, green in both parts, which are clearly of the same type, and by the fact that the scribe of Part I had access to Part II.

This scribe was responsible for the extract from Sidonius Apollinaris on fol 87^v and perhaps also for a passage in the text on fol 81^r,¹ both of which folios are in Part II. The two parts were thus together early, but were perhaps not immediately bound together. The fact that each work was contained in a separate gathering or collection of gatherings meant that binding was not an immediate necessity. The apparent misplacing of the original gatherings 10-11 (fols. 130-42, now gatherings 18-19) of Part I may indicate that the manuscript had become dilapidated by the fourteenth century, when it received its present binding.² On the other hand, it is interesting to note that from the point of view of contents the present arrangement of the gatherings is more ordered, since Roman material now runs continuously from fols 1^r-87^v, and the Prophecies of Merlin follows the Arthurian material in the Historia Brittonum. The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, however, spoils the outright division between Roman and Brit-

¹See fol 81^r, ii 20-7.

²D'Ardenne (1962) p 85. It seemed to me that the binding may well in fact be earlier than the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, I saw the manuscript before I had had the benefit of reading Graham Pollard, 'The Construction of English Twelfth Century Bindings', The Library, fifth series 17 (1962) pp 1-22.

ish material, and prevents the argument being pressed too strongly, that the present arrangement of the gatherings may be earlier than the fourteenth century.

A third hand added on fol 83^v the passage on the German emperors up to Henry V, and a brief note on fol 99^r.¹

Dating

The dating and origin of the Liège manuscript has been, and is still, a matter of some disagreement. The Catalogue of 1875 dated it simply to the twelfth century.² In 1883, Delisle stated that it was 'copié en Angleterre vers la fin du premier tiers du XII^e siècle'.³ Jean Marx, in his 1914 edition of the chronicle of William of Jumièges, cited Delisle, and described Liège as a 'Manuscrit de la première moitié du XII^e siècle'.⁴ The manuscript remained comparatively neglected until 1962 when S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne published the first of four articles on it.⁵ Disagreeing with the Catalogue of 1875, and apparently unaware of Delisle's and

¹ Above Machtildis regina Anglorum this scribe has written filia Malcolini Regis Scottorum.

² M. Fiess and M. Grandjean, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège. Catalogue des manuscrits (Liège 1875) pp 330, 357.

³ Leopold Delisle, 'Recueil historique de la Bibliothèque de Liège', Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes 44 (1883) pp 388-92, at p 388.

⁴ Jean Marx pp xxxii.

⁵

(i) 'A neglected Manuscript of British History', in English and Medieval Studies presented to J.R.R. Tolkien, ed N. Davis and C.L. Wrenn (London 1962) pp 84-93; (ii) review of above volume, in English Studies 44 (1963) pp 128-30; (iii) 'The Cistercian Origin of MS. Liège University Library 369C', in Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of Margaret Schlauch, ed I. Dobrzycka et al., (Warsaw 1966) pp 31-5; (iv) 'Un extrait peu connu de l'Historia Brittonum de Nennius', in Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune (Gembloux 1969) pp 1-4.

Marx's work, d'Ardenne decided in this first article that Liège was written not in the twelfth but in the early thirteenth century:

Among the chief features which support a later date it is enough for the present occasion to mention the consistent use of the hyphen at the end of the line to link letters belonging to the same words; sporadic shapes of some letters, for instance W and A, which can only belong to the thirteenth century; sporadic spellings of English placenames, as in Surreie (Surreiam), Weramuthe, Neweburn, Angleseia; and finally the use of Latin words or spellings first recorded in the thirteenth century or later, as ultionem, mutuo, feudatos, stipendia(rios), to cite a few examples out of many. The names of the monasteries mentioned in the notes have been carefully erased, but M. Stiennon of the Liège University Library has been able to recapture the following entry, in a hand of the thirteenth century, above the title of Eutropius' Breviarium on f.1^r: Liber S(ancti).... tumestal or tunnestal or tunnesdal. Tunstall is an English placename of common occurrence, especially in the north - Ekwall in his Concise Dictionary gives eleven examples. For reasons which will appear presently Tunstall in Durham seems to be the likely place, though there was no religious house there.²

The next year, in a review, strangely, of the 1962 volume, d'Ardenne noted that N.R. Ker had indicated a preference for the reading Kirkestal (the Cistercian house of Kirkstall, Yorkshire) instead of her suggestion tunnestal for the erased ex libris on fol 1^r.³

In 1966 she added that

¹ D'Ardenne here cites J.H. Baxter and C. Johnson, Medieval Latin Word-List (London 1934).

² D'Ardenne (1962) pp 85-6. This first article formed the basis of the description in Treasures of Belgian Libraries, National Library of Scotland 1 July-14 September 1963 (Edinburgh 1963) p 28.

³ D'Ardenne (1963) p 130. A recent hand, perhaps d'Ardenne's, has added in pencil these suggestions above the ex libris: Sci...de...al.

Mr Neil Ker informs me that he 'put the inscription under ultra-violet lamp¹ and it was a little clearer in the erased part: one could posit an initial k and final l'. He accordingly suggests the reading Kirkestal. Now Liber sancte marie de Kirkestal beautifully fits in the erased space, and is supported by other ex libris inscriptions found in other manuscripts belonging to the same century, among which MS. Laud misc. 216 is of special interest. Indeed beside the ex libris inscription, a note on f.173 records the entry into the probatorium of two monks, Robert Armeley (Armeley is in the vicinity of Kirkstall) and William Rawdon (Rawdon is near Leeds), a fact also recorded in our Liège manuscript. On the same fly-leaf of our manuscript another fifteenth century hand has scribbled Iohannes Drax Qwallay, very likely an Augustinian canon of the priory of Drax (in the West Riding of Yorkshire) who became a monk of the Cistercian house of Whalley over the Lancashire border.²

Ker told d'Ardenne by letter that he thought the manuscript was written 'before rather than after 1200', to which she added in parenthesis, '1200 was my own guess'.³ It should be noted that this was d'Ardenne's third suggestion on the question of date, her other preferences being: 'this manuscript belongs not to the twelfth century but to the early thirteenth',⁴ and 'our manuscript must be dated, at the earliest, second half of the twelfth century'.⁵

Dr Ker has recently been good enough to tell me that he would be

¹ Dr Ker has kindly informed me that he did this in the National Library of Scotland, when the manuscript was on exhibition there in 1963. Unfortunately, an ultra-violet lamp was not available when I visited Liège University Library.

² D'Ardenne (1966) pp 31-2.

³ Ibid p 32 n 8.

⁴ Idem (1963) p 85.

⁵ Idem (1966) p 32.

happy to date the manuscript 'at or a little after the middle of the century (early third quarter)', but that he has 'a suspicion that as it is a hand with a character of its own it may be a bit later than it looks'.¹

In the most recent printed reference, Dumville left the question of dating open. He described Liège as 'comprising two companion manuscripts written in the twelfth² or early thirteenth century'.^{3,4}

Since the appearance of d'Ardenne's articles, there has, therefore, been some disagreement about details but general agreement that Liège dates at the earliest from the second half of the twelfth century, and was written at Kirkstall. D'Ardenne's work is, however, full of errors, some of which derive from the 1875 catalogue,⁵ and her conclusions on date and origin seem particularly

¹Letter of 27 June 1976.

²With a reference to Ker, Medieval Libraries p 107.

³With a reference to d'Ardenne (1962) pp 85f. and idem (1966) p 32.

⁴Dumville p 374.

⁵For example, the history of the Roman emperors and popes goes up not, as she says, to 1110, but to Henry V (1106-25) and Honorius II (1124-30) (d'Ardenne, 1962, p 88); the 'abbreviation' of the 'Historia Regum' comes not before the 'De Primo Saxonum Adventu' in BL Cotton MS Caligula Aviii (ibid p 89), but after it; she did not notice the verse on fol 87^v. Other mistakes she was able to correct in 1963, partly on Ker's advice. One confused reviewer of the 1962 volume gained the false impression that the manuscript had been presented to Liège University Library by J.R.R. Tolkien; see A.C. Baugh in Medium Aevum 32 (1963) p 246.

misjudged. Delisle's view that the manuscript was written in the late first third of the twelfth century is supported by a study of hitherto overlooked evidence. Delisle may have been influenced by the fact that on fols 93^v-94^r the original hand carries the lists of the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishops of Durham down, respectively, to William of Corbeil (1123-36), Thurstan (1119-40), and Ranulf Flambard (1099-1128).¹ The lists were thus composed between 1123, when William of Corbeil was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and either 1133, when Geoffrey Rufus was consecrated Bishop of Durham, or, more probably, 1128, when Ranulf Flambard died.² On fols 84^r-87^v, the list of popes is carried down in the original hand to Honorius II (1124-30), and was clearly composed before his death, since, although the pontifical years of all previous popes are added in the same hand as their names, the length of Honorius's pontificate has been added in a later hand. These dating spans are confirmed by evidence from the text of the 'De Primo Saxonum Adventu'. On fol 93^r the section on the earls of Northumbria ends:

A quo rex Wilhelmus iunior offensus, dum eum uide cepisset, ipse in sua manu retinuit comitatum... frater eius henricus rex...

¹ Delisle is not correct in saying (p 390) that in the Durham list the last name in the original hand is that of Geoffrey Rufus; Gaufridus is quite clearly in a different hand from Rannulfus.

² See below p 139, and accompanying reproduction.

The two spaces represent erasures. A later hand has supplied et postea and retinuit. BL Cotton MS Domitian viii, however, which contains substantially the same text, reads here hodieque and retinet.¹ It seems likely that these words appeared in the Liège text but were erased when no longer applicable after King Henry I's death in 1135. Another date in the 1120s is provided by the reference in the Prophecies of Merlin to Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, consecrated 1123.²

The last reference cannot necessarily be taken as other than simply a terminus a quo, and, similarly, the terminal dates of the papal and episcopal lists and the erasure of the words hodie and retinet (referring to the kingdom of Henry I) strictly show only that the exemplar or exemplars were of that date,³ and it does

¹ Domitian viii fol 11^r; Arnold II 384.

² Fol 143^r; Griscom p 384. Evidence for contracting the dating spans further is perhaps provided by the account of Roman emperors on fols 75^r-83^v. The original text ends with the German emperor Henry II (1002)-24), and at the foot of fol 83^v another, though closely contemporary hand, has added a note on the emperors between Conrad II (1024-39) and Henry V (1106 to 23 May 1125). Henry's death is not stated explicitly, but ann. xvii is written after his name. This must be intended as an indication of his regnal years, in the same way as for previous emperors in the list, though in Henry's case 'seventeen years' is, of course, inaccurate. But if his death is implied, then the writing of this note on fol 83^v may just possibly be dated between Henry V's death in May 1125 and the election of Lothar III in August of the same year, though such knowledge of German matters cannot be taken for granted in an English manuscript.

³ BL Cotton MS Domitian viii, for example, has lists of bishops ending in the same names as Liège but was probably written around 1200.

Liège U.L. 369 C fol 94^r

6. *F. laticauda*.

Herbold

aus Alden

Gautridul.

Aluredus ab incarnati
one dñi . dccc. xly.
Angul Saxonum rex
Aluredus in illa plaga
que nominat' Berroc
scita nascitur. cui ge
nealogia tali serie con
textur. Aluredus rex
filius Echelswulfi re
gis. q' fuit Cogtra. Qui
fuit Alchmundi. Qui f'
esse. Q' fuit Coppia. Q' f'
ingels;

seem clear that the manuscript is the work of copyists.¹ The papal lists do not in themselves alter this impression, since they were not continued until the late thirteenth century, though it might be argued that not even the most obtuse scribe, if writing in the second half of the twelfth century, would have left unnoted the length of Honorius II's pontificate, especially in a house with the resources demonstrated by this manuscript, or at least by its exemplar. It seems particularly significant, however, that the episcopal lists are not all continued in the one hand but in a variety of hands. The only addition to the Durham list is Gaufridus (Geoffrey Rufus, 1133-40), in a hand similar but not identical to that of the main scribe. After Turstinus, the York list has three names - Henricus, Willelmus secundus, and Rogerus² - in a single twelfth-century hand not responsible for anything else in the manuscript. Different hands are responsible for the next three names in the York list, and again for every addition to the Canterbury list. It is, of course, theoretically possible that these names were added not contemporaneously with each succeeding bishop but independently by a variety of scribes in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, but there are difficulties about accepting this view, chiefly in explaining why the names of

¹ This is suggested by a number of scribal mistakes: for example, Gastonie for Glastonie (fol 95^v) and Cuniacum for Cluniacum (fol 99^r).

² Henry Murdac (1147-53), William Fitzherbert (1141-54), Roger of Bishopsbridge (1154-81).

William of Ste Barbe (bishop 1143-52) and Hugh du Puiset (1153-95) were not added to the Durham list, especially the latter, who in all probability must have been better known than Geoffrey Rufus to an annotator of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.¹

On balance, it seems likely that the manuscript was written between 1124 and 1128. Strictly, this date applies only to Part II (gatherings 10-17, 20; fols 75-129, 143-9), but the close relationship noted above between the two parts means that both are of the same date, though from the fact that the scribe of Part I was responsible for passages in Part II it may be conjectured that II is a little earlier than I.²

If the manuscript can be dated to the 1120s, it could not have been written at Kirkstall, which was not founded until 1152.³

¹ Hugo is added in a later hand at the side of the main list.

² On the palaeographical side, there are not, I think, strong reasons for dating the manuscript later than the first third of the twelfth century. As in so many palaeographical questions, exact comparisons are not possible, since the Liège hands probably do not, as Ker said, conform to a scriptorium type (letter of 21 Oct. 1976). But in, for example, the form of s, the st ligature, and the ur abbreviation, Liège has some similarities with manuscripts known to have been produced in Durham in the early twelfth century, such as University College, Oxford, MS 165, in particular pp 5-8, 170-200, though clearly it can not be argued that this is the same hand as Liège. The manuscript does not, in my opinion, share characteristics with scripts of the third quarter of the twelfth century.

³ Knowles, MO p 708. D'Ardenne says wrongly (1966 article p 32) that Kirkstall was founded in 1147. The community originally settled at Barnoldswick in 1147, then moved to Kirkstall in 1152. Even if the manuscript could be dated after 1152, it does not necessarily follow that it was written at Kirkstall.

For a variety of reasons, Durham seems the most likely house of origin. The section, or at least its exemplar, containing the episcopal lists, can be ascribed to Durham beyond reasonable doubt, since it contains so much material of Durham orientation, and since it is difficult to imagine where else it might be considered proper to add only the Durham list to those of the two metropolitan sees, and to leave more space on fol 94^r for future Durham names than for those of the metropolitans. The last name in the original hand in this list is written mainly in majuscule (RaNNULfUS), a sign in, for example, the twelfth-century Durham manuscripts, Durham University Library Cosin's V. ii. 6 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc 491,¹ that the entry was probably written contemporaneously with the incumbent,² especially since it seems doubtful whether a scribe, careless in other instances,³ would have troubled to reproduce the majuscule had he been at work after Ranulf Flambard's death in 1128.

Other material in the manuscript does not offer conclusive evidence of origin. Another twelfth-century copy of William of

¹ See Bernard Meehan, 'Outsiders, insiders and property in Durham around 1100', Studies in Church History 12 1975 pp 45-58, at p 57. In Laud misc 491 fol 173v, Hugo (Hugh du Puiset, bishop 1153-95) is added in majuscule, though in a different hand.

² It may be significant that in, for example, Lambeth Palace MS 42 and Corpus Christi College Cambridge, MS 92 twelfth-century manuscripts of Worcester chronicle almost certainly not written in Durham, Flambard's name is spelt Randulfus.

³ See above p 137.

Jumièges, BL Harley 491, is known to have come from Durham,¹ but contains a different version of the work and cannot profitably be compared with the text in Liège.² The version of the Historia Brittonum in Liège was copied from the same exemplar as the version in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 139³ and the Sidonius Apollinaris on fol 87^v may have been copied from a book not now extant given to the community by Bishop William of St Carilef (d 1096), though there is no proof of this.⁴ Eutropius is named in the twelfth-century Durham catalogue contained in Durham Dean and Chapter Library, B. IV. 24.⁵

Details apart, it seems improbable that a manuscript like

¹ Guillaume de Jumièges, Gesta Normannorum Ducum, ed Jean Marx (Société de l'histoire de Normandie, Rouen and Paris 1914) p xxxi.

² See J. de Caluwé-Dor, 'L'importance de la version liègeoise dans la tradition de l'Historia Brittonum', Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune (Gembloux 1969) pp 5-12.

³ See above p 117.

⁴ The entry Sidonius Sollius Panigericus appears in the catalogue of Carilef books. Turner, advised by M. R. James, took Panigericus to mean 'the poems - of which the larger ones were in fact all panegyrics' of Sidonius; see C.H. Turner, 'The Earliest List of Durham MSS', The Journal of Theological Studies 19 (1918) 121-32, at pp 128-9. If he is correct, there is little difficulty in accepting that the extract on fol 87^v could have been copied from a collection already in the Durham library. If, however, Panigericus is interpreted literally as the copy of a single panegyric, then there is no proof that Carilef's gift included the panegyric on Majorianus. There is likewise no proof that the Carilef book was one of the three volumes of Sidonius noted in the late twelfth-century catalogue (Catalogi Veteres Librorum Dunelmi SS (1838) p 4) or that any of these survived to be numbered among the four volumes of Sidonius in the 1391 and 1416 catalogues (ibid pp 31, 108). These two later catalogues supply second folio catchwords from the panegyric on Anthemius; see Sidonius, Poems and Letters, ed W.B. Anderson, 2 vols (London 1936) 1 pp 2-57, at pp 10, 14, 18, 20, with gignasiis probably an error for gymnasiis.

⁵ Catalogi Veteres Librorum Dunelmi, SS 7 (1838) p 4.

Liège could have come from any other northern scriptorium in the 1120s. Houses such as Selby, Whitby, Tynemouth, and St Mary's York are possibilities, but comparative material is limited, and surviving books are neither early enough nor distinguished enough to compare with Liège.¹ It is not necessary to support d'Ardenne's hypothesis, based on the assumption of Kirkstall origin, that Liège represents the type of sparsely decorated manuscript produced in Cistercian houses after 1152.² The decoration of Liège is not in fact especially spartan,³ less so than the other manuscripts attributed to Kirkstall, nor should artistic restraint in itself necessarily suggest a Cistercian origin.⁴ If, on the other hand,

¹For the books known to have survived from these houses see Ker, Medieval Libraries, pp 177, 191, 197-8, 217. No twelfth-century books are known to have survived from Whitby. Selby is represented in Ker by one twelfth-century book, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax 12; this, however, has an ex libris from as late as the seventeenth century. Those books from Tynemouth and St Mary's York which I have considered are Pembroke College, Cambridge, 82, B L Harley 3847, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Laud misc 4, CCCO 134, CUL Ee. 6. 40, B L Harley 56.

²See Boase p 154. I regret that I have not succeeded in finding the main hands in other twelfth-century manuscripts attributed to Durham or other northern houses. D'Ardenne's suggestion that Liège bears a marked palaeographical resemblance to CCCO 139 seems to me unfounded; see d'Ardenne (1966) p 33.

³See, for example, fol 130^r, reproduced in d'Ardenne (1969), facing p 2.

⁴See the twelfth-century manuscripts Bodleian Library, Oxford, e Mus. 195 and Laud misc. 216, noted in Ker, Medieval Libraries p 107. On Cistercian art see above p 87.

Liege was written early in the third quarter of the twelfth century, as Ker suggests, then it seems a remarkably able production for a community founded as recently as 1152, if it is thought to have actually originated at Kirkstall.

As the absence of names after that of Geoffrey Rufus seems to indicate, it may be argued that the manuscript left Durham some time between his consecration in August 1133 and the consecration of William of Ste Barbe in June 1143. There is thus a gap of at least nine years between the manuscript leaving Durham at the latest in 1143 and reaching Kirkstall at the earliest soon after its foundation in 1152, at the latest when the ex libris was added towards the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. There is even a gap of at least four years if the manuscript was owned by the Kirkstall community on its original site at Barnoldswick between 1147 and 1152. It was probably at a Yorkshire house that the list of archbishops of York was extended. After Thurstan, the names of William Fitzherbert, Henry Murdac, and Roger of Bishopsbridge were added by the same hand. This may indicate that the book did not reach Kirkstall (or perhaps another Yorkshire house) until after Roger became archbishop in 1154, or, alternatively, that in the furore of the election dispute, with Fitzherbert's election, ejection and reinstatement,¹ the scribe thought it advisable to

¹For the latest account see Derek Baker, 'San Bernardo e l'elezione di York', in Studi su S. Bernardo di Chiaravalle, Convegno Internazionale Certosa di Firenze 6-9 Novembre 1974 (Rome 1975) pp 115-80.

wait for Fitzherbert's death before committing himself on who held the archbishopric.

Conclusion

Liège U.L. 369 C was written in Durham, probably between 1124 and 1128, It reached Kirkstall, though exactly when is not certain, after being at least four years in a house or houses unknown, possibly its mother-house Fountains, which had close connections with Durham, and in a similar case may have passed sections of CCCC 139 on to Sawley.¹

¹See above pp 115-20, below pp 252-4.

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BL Cotton Caligula A.viii (Caligula)

Caligula, like many in the Cottonian collection, is a composite volume. It contains the De Primo Saxonum Adventu and annals from 1066 to 1119 held to be an abbreviation of the Historia Regum.

Apart from some differences in word order and spelling, these are the same as in Liège University Library 369 C, and are examined in detail below.

Description, collation, structure and hands

210 fols; '162' is used twice; 227x166 mm.

bound 1912; rebound 1951.

Caligula breaks down into at least four entirely distinct sections, of which only section 2 is of direct concern to the Historia Regum.

When the manuscript was rebound in 1912, fol 1 was returned to the volume it originally came from.

Fols 2 and 3 are flyleaves.

Section 1 comprises fols 4-27, a thirteenth-century calendar and obituary.

Section 2, which contains the DPSA and material related to the Historia Regum, is written throughout in one hand from the second half of the twelfth century and comprises fols 28-58.

These are ruled with a plummet for 27 lines. Gathering 1 (fols 28-32) has 4+1 fols; fol 32 is inserted. Gatherings 2 (fols 33-41) and 3 (fols 42-49) have 8 fols each. Gathering 4 (fols 50-58) has 8+1 fols; fol 54 is a blank, inserted leaf.

Section 3 (fols 59-191) is written in a variety of late eleventh and early twelfth-century hands. It breaks down into several subsections, each of which should perhaps properly be regarded as a separate section. The nature of the contents does suggest a common, hagiographical theme, but it should at least be suspected that it may have been Cotton's intention to produce this sort of unity. Certainly, this section should not be regarded as a unity in all respects, and the subsections it seems possible to distinguish are (a) fols 59-85; (b) fols 86-101; (c) fols 102-107; (d) fols 108-120; (e) fols 121-128; (f) fols 129-162; (g) fols 163-168; (h) fols 169-191.

Section 4 (fols 192-210) is in a late thirteenth-century hand.

There are no gathering numbers.

Caligula is like so many of his manuscripts, a Cotton creation. His signature is on fols 4^r and 28^r, which suggests that at least sections 1 and 2 came into his possession separately. The volume has been in its present form since at least 1696.¹

Contents

1. fols 4^r-27^v, thirteenth-century calendar and obituary from Beauchief (Derbyshire), with numerous additions.
2. fols 28^r-36^r, De Primo Saxonum Adventu, printed in Arnold II pp 365-84. A drawing of Woden and his descendants is on fols 29^r.

¹ See Thomas Smith, Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae (Oxford 1696) pp 33-4.

3. fols 36^r-43^r, annals related to the Historia Regum, from king Alfred to 1119.¹
4. fols 43^v-44^r, brief item with the rubric Incipit de VII mirabilibus mundi ab hominibus factis.
5. fols 44^r-58^v, the Historia Brittonum. The rubric reads Incipit res gesta brittonum a gylfa sapiente composita.
6. fols 59^r-85^v, life of St Wilfrid, archbishop of York.
7. fols 86^r-93^v, life of St Werburga.
8. fols 93^v-98^r, readings for the feast of St Sexburga, and on the birth of St Formenilda.
9. fols 98^r-101^v, passio of St Margaret of Antioch.
10. fols 102^r-107^v, miracles of St Withburga.
11. fols 108^r-120^v, life of St Sexburga.
12. fols 121^r-125^r, life of St Birinus.
13. fols 125^r-128^v, life of St Aethelwold.
14. fols 129^r-135^v, life of St Benedict, and of St Scholastica.
15. fols 135^v-162^r, another life of St Benedict, with an account of his translation.
16. fols 163^r-168^r, life of St Mary Magdalene. The arms of Robert Steward, prior of Ely 1522-57, appear on fol 168^v.
17. fols 169^r-191^r, passio of St Katherine.

¹ It may be remarked at this point that the rubrics on fols 29^v and 43^r exclude the extract from the Historia Brittonum on fol 28r/v and the illustration of Woden on fol 29r, but otherwise span both items 2 and 3, which, though clearly separate sources, were artificially separated by Hinde's decision to edit item 2 only (Hinde pp 202-15), a division maintained by Arnold. See below pp 228-3

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18. fols 192^r-209^v, vision of the monk of Eynsham, printed in
AB 22 (1903) pp 236-319.

fol 210^{r/v} has been left blank.

Secondary references

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, ed J.
Planta (London 1801) p 44.

Hinde pp 202-15 nn.

Arnold II p 365.

Mynors p 8.

Ker, Medieval Libraries pp 8, 78.

F. Wormald, 'Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D.
900 to 1100', Archaeologia 91 (1945) pp 107-35, at p 128 n 4.

H.M. Colvin, The White Canons in England (Oxford 1951) p 387.

Boase pp 27-8, 40.

Offler, Medieval Historians pp 21-2 n 22.

C. Warren Hollister, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil War: 1101', EHR
88 (1973) pp 315-34 passim.

Provenance

There is no agreement on the provenance of Caligula. Ker noted
that fols 4-47 were from the Premonstratensian house of Beauchief
(Derbyshire); fols 59-191 he ascribed to Ely.¹ Wormald ascribed
the saints lives (fols 59-191) to Canterbury, presumably on the
grounds of the resemblance to Canterbury artwork of the eleventh
century. He described the 'figure style' as 'pure "Winchester"',
and noted that the figure of St Margaret of Antioch on fol 98^r

¹Ker, Medieval Libraries pp 8, 78.

'recalls the early eleventh century illustrations in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, BM Add MS 24199'.¹ Boase rightly described *Caligula* as 'a somewhat composite book of varied associations', and echoed Wormald in citing the illustration of St Margaret on fol 98^r as a survival of the pre-Conquest Winchester figure style.² Elsewhere he described *Caligula* as 'a volume with Durham connexions', and noted the resemblance of the initial to the life of St Birinus on fol 121^r to various Durham manuscripts including the Carilef Bible, B.IV.14 (Mynors plate 35) and Oxford University College 165.³ Mynors felt that *Caligula* fols 28^r-58^v had been written in Durham. He cited the evidence of a distinctively Durham form of capital I, and was no doubt influenced by the subject matter of the DPSA and HR sections.⁴ Hollister described *Caligula* unequivocally as a 'Durham manuscript'.⁵

Provenance must be deduced on a sectional basis. There can be little doubt that section 1 (fols 4-27) originated in Beauchief.⁶

Section 2 (fols 28-58), which contains the DPSA and HR material,

¹ F. Wormald, 'Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D. 900 to 1100', *Archaeologia* 91 (1945) pp 107-35, at p 128 n 4.

² Boase p 40.

³ Ibid pp 27-8.

⁴ Mynors pp 7 fig (d), 8.

⁵ C. Warren Hollister, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil War: 1101', *EHR* 88 (1973) pp 315-34, at p 316.

⁶ H.M. Colvin, The White Canons in England (Oxford 1951) p 387. Ker's '47' must be a printing error for '27'.

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probably can be ascribed, as Mynors thought, to Durham, if only because of the subject matter and because in the list of Durham bishops on fol 36^r the name of Hugh du Puiset (bishop 1153-95) appears in majuscule, a distinction unlikely to be accorded anywhere but at Durham. There is the formal possibility, however, that this section of Caligula was copied elsewhere from a Durham exemplar.

Mynors' argument, moreover, for a Durham provenance on the strength of the form of capital I is not especially convincing, even though such forms are found in books almost certainly written in Durham.¹

It may be significant that such forms of the letter can also be found in Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 17 fols 30^v, 69^v and 79^v, a twelfth-century manuscript which has an ex libris from the Premonstratensian house of Barlings in Lincolnshire. On balance, however, it does seem likely that Caligula fols 28-58 were written in Durham.

Whether this attribution can be extended, as Boase seemed to imply, to section 3 (fols 59-191), or any parts of it, is debatable. The resemblance of the initial on fol 121^r to known Durham manuscripts is striking,² as Boase noted, and the hand in fols 121^r-128^v is similar to, though a little earlier than, the first hand in Cosin's V.ii.6. Apart from these essentially subjective considerations, applying at

¹Mynors (p 8) cited Durham Dean and Chapter Library A. II. 9, A. III. 10, BL Harley 4124, Bodleian Laud Misc 491.

²In foliage it closely resembles the initials in some of the Carilef books (late eleventh century), for example Durham Dean and Chapter Library B.II.35 fols 38^v-109^r, A.II.4, B.II.9.

the most only to fols 121-128, which should probably be regarded as separate subsection of section 3, there is nothing elsewhere between fols 59-191 which suggests a Durham provenance. Likewise, Ker's ascription of this section to Ely rests on slender grounds, apparently on the sole evidence of a crudely drawn coat of arms on fol 168^v bearing the date 1531 and the name Robert Steward, prior of Ely from 1522 to 1557. Such a late ex libris is no evidence of an Ely origin, and strictly applies only to fols 163-168, subsection (g) of section 3.

Wormald gave no reasons for ascribing Caligula to Canterbury, but probably based his conclusion solely on the figure style in the illustration of St Margaret on fol 98^r. He may be correct, but if so his conclusions can apply only to subsection (a) of section 3 (fols 59-101) or at the most to the whole of section 3 (fols 59-191).

It does not seem possible to suggest any exact provenance for section 4 (fols 192-210).

Dating

Like provenance, dating can also be attempted only on a sectional level. Sections 1, 3, and 4, which are of no direct concern to the Historia Regum, can be dated, respectively, thirteenth century, late eleventh and twelfth century, and late thirteenth century.

Mynors, who alone seems to have perceived it as a separate section, dated section 2 (fols 28-58), which contains the DPSA and Historia

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Regum material, between 1153 and 1166. His first date (1153) was taken from the date of election of Hugh du Puiset, the last name in the list of Durham bishops on fol 36^r. His second date (1166) is given on the grounds that the text of the Historia Brittonum on fols 44^r-58^v does not include the revisions introduced to Durham Dean and Chapter Library B.II.35 in 1166. This date span was based partly on the ascription of the manuscript to Durham which should be regarded as a probability though not a certainty. If Caligula fols 28-58 is not from Durham, there is no reason why its text of the Historia Brittonum should have been revised at all; and even if it was in the same library as B.II.35 when the latter's text was revised, it does not necessarily follow that the text in Caligula should also have been altered. Either way, a terminus ante quem of 1166 is not above question. Nor does Mynors' terminus a quo seem entirely valid. It is true, as he says, that Hugh du Puiset was elected bishop of Durham in 1153. But Roger of Bishopsbridge, whose name is in the same hand, was consecrated archbishop of York on October 10, 1154, and this seems just as valid an initial date as 1153. A comparison, in fact, of the last names in the lists of bishops of Durham and archbishops of York and Canterbury on fols 35^v-36^r gives a date of composition between October 10, 1154 (the consecration of Roger of Bishopsbridge) and June 3, 1162 (the consecration of Becket as archbishop of Canterbury). It cannot, however, be taken as certain that the scribe of this section

of Caligula was at work in these years, since, unlike Cosin's V.ii.6 and Liège University Library 369 C, no other near-contemporary hands have made additions to the lists which enable the original hand to be dated with precision; though, if later than 1154 x 1162, the hand suggests it was written not very much later. Perhaps it would be safest to approximate, and date fols 28-58 of Caligula c 1170.

Conclusion

Caligula fols 28-58 were written c 1170, probably in Durham. The rest of the manuscript has no direct connection with this section.

BL Cotton Domitian viii fols 1-16 (Domitian)

Domitian contains the 'DPSA'. Like many Cotton manuscripts, it is composite, and fols 1-16 together form a completely distinct section within it. The rest of the volume is in a variety of hands ranging from the late eleventh to the fifteenth century, and is ignored in this discussion.

Description and collation

16 fols; 222 x 185 mm; rebound 1955.

2 gatherings of 8 fols each, mostly single columns. The first gathering (fols 1-8) is unruled, and varies in the number of lines. Most fols have 22 lines, though fol 7^{r/v} has 23. Gathering 2 (fols 9-16) is ruled with a plummet, and is of 27 and 28 lines.

Contents

1. fols 1^r-10^r, the 'De Primo Saxonum Adventu', printed in Arnold II pp 365-84.
2. fols 10^r-11^r, letter of pope Paschal II to king Henry I on investitures.
3. fol 11^v, letter of pope (?Paschal II) to the emperor Henry (?V) in which he concedes the right of election of bis^hops and abbots in the empire.
4. fol 12^r, document of concession by emperor Henry (?V) of canonical election and free consecration, followed by oath given by bishops to the pope.
5. fols 12^v-14^v, anonymous verses on the soul and on faith.
fols 15^r-16^v have been left blank.

Secondary references

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, ed J. Planta (London 1801) p 573.

Hinde p xl^{vii}.

Arnold II p 365.

S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne, 'Un extrait peu connu de l'Historia Brittonum de Nennius', in Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune (Gembloux 1969) pp 1-4.

Hands and dating

Domitian fols 1^r-14^v are all in the same rough hand. Arnold is wrong in saying that the concluding words of the DPSA, hodieque frater eius henricus rex retinet, are in a different hand. The hand is an unusual one for a chronicle, since it has considerable affinities with charter hands, and cannot be dated with certainty. Hinde (p xlvii), followed by d'Ardenne,¹ dated it to the early thirteenth century, and Professor G.W.S. Barrow has kindly told me by letter that he is inclined to date it 'not very far from 1200, plus or minus a decade'. Initials are of red and blue, with simple scrolling in pen and ink.²

Fols 1^r-10^r seem to have been copied from an early exemplar of the DPSA. Arnold, who used Domitian as the basis of his text, called it the 'version' which 'appears to be the oldest of all'.³ His judgement is confirmed by consideration of the lists of archbishops of

¹S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne, 'Un extrait peu connu de l'Historia Brittonum de Nennius', in Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune (Gembloux 1969) pp 1-4.

²Durham Dean and Chapter Library A.II.19. a Puiset manuscript from the last quarter of the twelfth century, has scrollwork which seems to be a more refined version of, for example, the P in Domitian fol 3^r; see Mynors plate 55.

³Arnold II p 365.

Canterbury and York and bishops of Durham on fols 8^v-9^r which end, respectively, at William of Corbeil, Thurstan and Ranulf Flambard, thus giving a dating span between 1123, when William of Corbeil was consecrated, and 1133, when Geoffrey Rufus became bishop of Durham. That the scribe was not himself at work in these years, but was clearly copying an earlier exemplar, is shown by the fact that the next item, the letter of pope Parchal II, follows in the same hand on fol 10^r without a break.

Provenance

No particular house may be suggested for Domitian fols 1-16¹.

Durham can probably be ruled out on the grounds of the mistakes, largely ones of repetition, made in the list of Durham bishops.

The Domitian scribe has written Rinan where Cosin's V.ii.6 has

Finan, Hadredus instead of Heathuredus, Alfsius instead of Elfsig, and has intruded Hardulfus between Eardulfus and Cutheardus.²

But, though unlikely, it is still just possible that Domitian fols 1-16 may represent the work of a singularly ill-informed Durham scribe.

There are a number of other examples of scribal carelessness or ignorance on fols 8^v-9^r. In the list of York archbishops, Domitian has Rosa instead of Bosa, and only one Eanbald, where most lists

¹Ker, Medieval Libraries p 36 attributes fols 30-70 to Canterbury cathedral, and (p 92) fols 120-161 to the benedictine abbey at Gloucester.

²See Arnold I p 3.

have two.¹ In the Canterbury list, Domitian's only deviation is to write Gregowinus for Breogwinus. These mistakes, and the unusual nature of the hand, make it impossible to suggest an exact provenance.

Conclusion

Domitian fols 1-16 were written c 1200, though exactly where in England is not known.

¹ J. le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, ed T.D. Hardy, 3 vols (Oxford 1854) 3 p 95; R.I. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon Episcopal Lists, Part III', Nottingham Medieval Studies 10 (1966) pp 2-24, at pp 6, 11.

Oxford, Magdalen College lat. 53 pp 145-168 (Magdalen 53)

Magdalen 53 is a composite volume of 332 pp, of which pp 145-168, containing the De Primo Saxonum Adventu, form a separate and distinct section. The rest of the manuscript is ignored in the discussion which follows.

Description, collation and structure

12 fols; 230 x 146 mm; early modern binding.

Gathering 1 (pp 145-160) has 8 fols, with 26 lines to the page. Gathering 2 (pp 161-168) has 4 fols, with 25 lines to the page. Both are ruled with a hard point. There are some dull initials in red and green in both gatherings.

Contents

1. pp 145-168, the De Primo Saxonum Adventu, printed in Hinde pp 202-15, where Magdalen 53's variant readings are noted, and in Arnold II pp 365-84.

Secondary references

Hinde pp 202-15 nn, esp pp 213-4 n j.

Arnold II p 365.

Ker, Medieval Libraries pp 139, 168, 216.

Provenance and hand

Ker tentatively attributed pp 145-168 on the grounds of contents and hand to the benedictine abbey of St Albans.¹ In the index cards

¹ Ker, Medieval Libraries p 168. Ker (ibid p 216) ascribed pp 1-6 (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century) to the benedictine abbey of Wymondham (Norfolk), originally a priory and cell of St Albans; and (ibid p 139) ascribed pp 169-198 (thirteenth century) to Norwich Cathedral. It may be possible to extend the St Albans attribution to pp 19-50 (first half of the twelfth century), which contain a passio of St Alban.

deposited in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, he drew attention to the similarity of the hand responsible for these pages to the hand in BL Royal MSS 13.D.vi-vii, a St Albans manuscript from the first half of the twelfth century.¹ Ker was probably influenced also by a passage of St Albans interest on pp 165-6 which occurs only in Magdalen 53. Where Cotton Caligula A.viii, Liège University Library MS 369 C and Cotton Domitian viii read hodieque frater eius Henricus rex retinet (referring to the earldom of Northumbria), Magdalen 53 reads:

Post mortem Willelmi regis frater eius henrici rex comitatum northanhymbrorum in proprio dominio tota uita sua retinuit. Comitem uero rodbertum de molbreio qui captus fuerat a fratre suo Willelmo, ipse in eadem custodia diutissime detinuit. Tandem rogatu baronum suorum eundem resoluens, concessit illi mutare uitam habitumque secularem. Qui ingressus monasterium sancti albani sub professione monachica ibidem uitam finiuit. Post obitum henrici regis, nepos ipsius stephanus qui ei successit in regnum.

This account of earl Robert Mowbray's becoming a monk at St Albans after many years' imprisonment is strong evidence of St Albans interest, though whether it argues a St Albans origin for the manuscript is not conclusive, especially as the hand which Ker indicated in Royal 13. D. vi-vii. does not seem, to me at least, positively identical to Magdalen 53. Though the hands are very similar, it may be more plausible to look for a house closer to Durham, the probable place of composition of the DPSA, and suggest that Magdalen 53 could have been written in

¹ See G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, British Museum, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, 4 vols (London 1921) 2 pp 110-111; historiated initials from Royal 13.D.VI fol 61^v, Royal 13.D.VII fols 28^r, 83^v, 153^r, 170^v are illustrated ibid vol 4 plate 81. See also Boase pp 98-9 (where the companion manuscripts are wrongly referred to as Royal D.13.VII and VIII), 157, 167, plate 32 b.

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Tynemouth, a priory which was claimed by Durham in the twelfth century but had been a cell of St Albans, probably from c 1090. The Durham community's claim was based on the complaint of the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae that their predecessors at Jarrow had been granted Tynemouth by bishop and earl Walcher (between 1075 and 1080) and had effected repairs after the church had lain roofless for fifteen years. After three years' peaceful occupation they had been thrown out by earl Robert Mowbray, perhaps in 1090. Mowbray then granted Tynemouth to St Albans, and a new community was sent north by abbot Paul.¹ The passage concerning Mowbray is not written in especially warm terms, but if it can be seen as the commemoration of a major benefactor, then Magdalen 53 pp 145-168 can perhaps be tentatively ascribed, as Hinde felt, to Tynemouth rather than St Albans.²

Dating

Ker dated pp 145-168 to the first half of the twelfth century.³ It

¹Arnold I pp 124-5; Offler, Charters pp 3-6. Mowbray was imprisoned for his part in the rebellion of 1096, after being captured in Tynemouth church itself (Arnold II p 226). The Magdalen 53 reference may be the 'one tradition' known to A.L. Poole that he entered St Albans; see From Domesday Book to Magna Carta (2 ed Oxford 1955) p 110. In Durham, his fall and the death of abbot Paul of St Albans in 1093 (Arnold II p 221) were both seen, predictably, as the penalty of thwarting St Cuthbert; see the De Miraculis et Translationibus of St Cuthbert cap 13, in Arnold II pp 345-7.

²See Hinde p xlviii. It is perhaps possible that Magdalen 53 pp 7-18 can also be ascribed to Tynemouth (or St Albans), since they are in a hand similar to pp 145-168.

³Ker, Medieval Libraries p 168.

seems possible, however, to be more precise. On p 150 the list of archbishops of Canterbury goes down in the original hand to William of Corbeil (1123-36). Theodbaldus (over an erasure which is illegible even under ultra-violet light), Thomas and Ricardus follow, probably all in different hands. On p 152 the list of Durham bishops ends in the original hand at Geoffrey Rufus (1133-40), with no later additions.¹ On p 166 reference is made to the succession of king Stephen. Collation of these three references gives a dating span between December 22, 1135 (the coronation of king Stephen)² and January 8, 1139 (the consecration of archbishop Theobald of Canterbury).

Conclusion

Magdalen 53 pp 145-168 were written probably between 1135 and 1139, perhaps at Tynemouth, though possibly at St Albans.

¹ Unlike other manuscripts of the DPSA, there is no list of archbishops of York.

² Poole p 133.

B.II.35, a well-worked manuscript which contains a version of the De Primo Saxonum Adventu, is a composite volume whose sections range from the late eleventh to the fifteenth century.¹ This account is largely derived from Mynors pp 41-2, and ignores the fourteenth and fifteenth-century material which has been added to form fols 1-35, 143-190.

Description, collation and structure

Mynors has perpetuated the eccentricities of the pencilled, modern foliation, which omits 102-110 and uses 148 twice. It has seemed more sensible to number the leaves consecutively. After fol 101, my foliation is, accordingly, at variance with Mynors¹.

190 fols; 368 x 248 mm; modern binding.

Fols 36 and 37 are inserted twelfth-century leaves, written in double columns of 61 lines, and ruled with a hard point.

Fols 38-122 form a late eleventh-century unity of eleven gatherings, distinguished by contemporary or near-contemporary gathering numbers. Gatherings 1-4 (fols 38-69) are each of 8 fols. Gathering 5 (fols 70-79) has 10 fols though originally had 14; the third, fourth, ninth and tenth leaves have been removed. Gatherings 6-9 (fols 80-111) are again of 8 fols. Gathering 10 (fols 112-115) has 4,

¹ These manuscripts are derived wholly or partly from different sections of B.II.35: BL Burney 310, Harley 4124, Cambridge Pembroke College 82; See Mynors p 41.

and gathering 11 (fols 116-122) has 7 fols, though originally had 8; the second last leaf has been removed. These eleven gatherings are ruled with a hard point. Fols 38^v-120^r are written in double columns of 39 lines.

Gathering 12 (fols 123-130), added later in the twelfth century, has 8 fols, though originally had 10; the last two leaves have been removed. It also is ruled with a hard point. Fols 120^v-130^v are written in double columns. The number of lines varies between 40 and 46.

Gathering 13 (fols 131-142), which forms another separate subsection, has 12 fols and is ruled with a plummet for 53 lines. The number of columns varies between two and six. These last two gatherings have no gathering numbers or catchwords.

Secondary references

Catalogi Veteres Librorum Dunelmi, SS 7 (1838) pp 3, 56, 65, 214.

Hinde pp lxxiii-lxxviii.

Arnold I p 169, II p 365.

HCY2 pp 513-30.

Mynors pp 41-2.

D. Nicholl, Thurstan, Archbishop of York (York 1964) p 260.

Offler, Medieval Historians pp 11-12, 22 nn 23-4.

Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford 1969) p xlix.

H.S. Offler, 'Rannulf Flambard as Bishop of Durham', DWJ 64 (1971-2) pp 14-25, at p 18 n 29.

Dumville pp 372-5.

Contents

1. fols 1^r-35^r, chronicle of England to the year 1347..
2. fols 36^v-38^r, Gilbert of Limerick, De statu ecclesiae, printed in PL 159 cols 995-1004.¹ The illustration on fol 36^v is reproduced in Mynors plate 32.
3. fols 38^v-110^r, Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica.
4. fols 110^r-114^v, Life of Bede.
5. fols 114^v-120^r, Bede, Historia Abbatum.
6. fol 120^r, Nennius, Eulogium.
7. fols 120^v-127^r, Historia Brittonum.²
8. fols 127^v-130^v, genealogies of the kings of Britain, Israel and Judah, and the life of Gildas.
9. fols 131^r-141^v, revised and expanded form of the De Primo Saxonum Adventu (unrevised version printed in Arnold II pp 365-84), with short account of the origins of the English sees and lists of the bishops. There are longer accounts of York on fols 137^r-138^v, printed in HCY 2 pp 513-30, and of Durham on fols 139^r-141^v, from which the account of the election of Hugh du Puiset is printed in Arnold I p 169. Fol 131^r is a full-page illustration of Woden and his descendants, reproduced in Mynors plate 44.
10. fols 143^r-147^r, early fifteenth-century index to Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica.

¹See above p 64 n 1.

²B.II.35 attributes the work to Gildas. See Dumville pp 372-5.

11. fols 148^r-183^v, early fourteenth-century Chronica of Martin Polonus.

12. fols 184^r-190^v, fourteenth-century list of Durham relics, plate etc.

Provenance

There can be no doubt that B.II.35 was written in Durham, apart from fols 38^v-110^r, which may have come from Normandy.

Hands and Dating

Fols 1-35, 148-190 are from the fourteenth, and fols 143-147 from the fifteenth century.

Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica on fols 38^v-110^r is probably the copy given to the community by bishop William of St Carilef, almost certainly before 1096.¹ In the early twelfth century the Life of Bede was added on fols 110^r-114^v, and the Historia Abbatum on fols 114^v-120^r. The Historia Brittonum on fols 120^v-127^r was probably added a little later, and was revised in 1166, at which date the Eulogium was added on fol 120^r. Fols 127^v-130^v (genealogies) and 131^r-141^v (the DPSA, occupying a single gathering), which are both written in different main hands, were written a little later, and in the case of the DPSA there are more precise dating indications. On fol 141^v reference is made to the death of king David I of Scotland in 1153, and the lists of bishops and archbishops

¹ See Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford 1969) p xlix.

English sees appear to have been composed, from a consensus of the dates of the last name in each list, between 1164 (the consecration of bishop Roger of Worcester) and 1174 (the consecration of Richard of Dover, archbishop of Canterbury). Since no near contemporary additions have been made to the lists, there is no certainty that the hand is of this period, though it cannot be much later, if at all. I am inclined to place the Gilbert of Limerick material on fols 36^v-37^v around the same date as fols 127^v-141^v, though Mynors indicated a later date, 'towards the end of the century'. Fols 36 and 37 are added leaves, and the end of the text occurs on fol 38^r, the originally blank cover leaf of the eleventh-century Bede. The hand on fol 38^r is different from and, I think, a little earlier than the beginning of the text on fol 37^{r/v}.

Conclusion

Apart from fols 38^v-110^r, B.II.35 fols 36-141 were put together in Durham at different stages in the twelfth century, and the version it contains of the DPSA can be regarded as a section distinct in itself.

Part 3
Texts

Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae

The Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae (HDE) will be given this title throughout, as an established usage and for the sake of convenience, though it is not a title authenticated by rubrics.

The two earliest texts, Durham University Library Cosin's V.ii.6 fol 11^r and BL Cotton Faustina A.v fol 25^r both have the heading Incipit libellus de exordio atque procursu istius hoc est dunelmensis ecclesiae. The title HDE seems to derive from Twysden's

edition of 1652.

Its attribution to Symeon first occurs in the third manuscript of the work, CUL Ff.1.27. This question, and the attribution in the seventeenth century to Turgot (prior of Durham 1087-1109) are discussed above pp 11-16.

The account which follows is based on the extant twelfth-century manuscripts of the work and concentrates on the text which appears in the original hand in DUL Cosin's MS V.ii.6 (down to the death of bishop William of St Carilef in 1096; printed in Arnold I pp 3-135), rather than on the various continuations on bishops Ranulf Flambard, William of Ste Barbe, Hugh du Puiset, and the intrusion of William Cumin.

Manuscripts

1. Durham University Library, Bishop Cosin's Library V.ii.6.
2. BL Cotton Faustina A.v.
3. CUL Ff.1.27.

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4. Durham Dean and Chapter Library A.IV.36, formerly Phillipps 9374. Later manuscripts, ignored here on the grounds that they add little to discussion of the text,¹ include Holkham Hall 468; BL Cotton Titus A. ii; Vespasian A.vi; York Cathedral Library XVI.I.12; Bodleian Fairfax 6 and Bodley 4151.

Editions

1. Roger Twysden, Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia de Dunelmensi Ecclesia, in Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem (London 1652) six unnumbered pp after L, then p 1 - col 68.
2. Thomas Bedford, Symeonis Monachi Dunhelmensis Libellus (London 1732).
3. Thomas Arnold, Symeonis Monachi Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, in Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, 2 vols RS 75 (1882-5) 1 (1882) pp 3-135.

Dating

There can be little doubt that the HDE was written between the translation of St Cuthbert in 1104 (Arnold I p 34) and 1109, when prior Turgot was consecrated bishop of St Andrews; he is spoken of as still prior in BL Cotton MS Faustina A.v fol 83^r (printed in Arnold I p 111).

Contents

The HDE describes the fortunes of the see between its foundation by Aidan and the death of bishop William of St Carilef in 1096. Under the patronage of king Oswald, Aidan established a see at Lindisfarne in 635. After his death in 651, he was succeeded by Finan, Colman

¹See Offler, Medieval Historians pp 14-16, 22-24.

and Tuda, who all came from Iona, and by Eata and Cuthbert, who came from Melrose. Two years after his appointment in 685, Cuthbert returned to the solitude of Farne, and died soon after. In 698, when Eadbert, his successor, was bishop, Cuthbert's body was exhumed for the first time and found incorrupt. The episcopates of Eadfrid and Ethelwold are then described, and some attention is given to the death of Bede in 735, and to king Ceolwulf of Northumbria, who resigned his kingdom in 737 to become a monk at Lindisfarne. Ceolwulf's successor, Eadbert, despite imprisoning the next bishop, Cynewulf, was praised highly; like Ceolwulf, he also became a monk. An account follows of the destruction of Lindisfarne by the Danes in 793, and of the episcopates of Higbald, Egbert, Eanbert and Eardulf. When the Danes attacked again, bishop Eardulf and the young clerks of the island fled Lindisfarne in 875 with the body of Cuthbert, to the eventual safety of Chester-le-Street, where Eardulf died in 899. He was succeeded by Cuthheard, Tilred, Wigred, Uhtred, the simoniac Sexhelm, Aldred and Elfsig. An account is given of the episcopate of Aldun, who had Cuthbert's body carried to Ripon in 995, again from fear of the Danes, and then to Durham, where the site was cleared with the help of earl Uhtred of Northumbria, and where the body was translated to a new church in 998. Aldun died in 1018, and Edmund became bishop three years later. An account follows of the activities of Elfred Westou, guardian of the relics of Cuthbert. After Edmund's death, Edred was bishop for ten months, then the see

was held for thirty years by Egelric and Egelwin, the brothers from Peterborough, both of whom are criticised for plundering the church. After the Conquest, Walcher became bishop in 1072. The HDE dwells on his encouragement of Aldwin of Winchcombe and his companions from Evesham, and of others who travelled north for a life of poverty and contemplation. The bishop's murder in 1080 is treated with horror. Considerable attention is then given to the episcopate of William of St Carilef, and especially to his removal of the secular clerks from Durham in 1083 and their replacement by Aldwin and his companions from Jarrow and Wearmouth. The HDE ends (DUL Cosin's MS V.ii.6 fol 98^r) with Carilef's burial in Durham in 1096.

Purpose¹

The HDE was a work of monastic orientation, which, dealing with the history of the see and therefore with the bishops, allowed the post-conquest monks to fix their own place in this history. The first essential was to justify their own occupation of the church of Durham by denigrating the life-style of their predecessors, an irregular body of clerks whom bishop Walcher had taught to observe a canonicorum regulam (Arnold I p 122), but who preferred the attractions of a life ruled by the flesh - carnalem vitam (ibid p 8). The attitude of the HDE to these clerks was unequivocal, and

¹ Some of this material is treated at greater length in SCH 12 (1975) pp 45-58.

was based on self-interest. The attitude towards the bishops was similarly inspired, but induced a more ambiguous view. Ideally, a bishop of Lindisfarne, Chester-le Street or Durham should be a monk elected from within the community (ibid p 85), and for a long time this requirement was fulfilled, since only bishop Sexhelm in the mid-tenth century had not been a monk. But no member of the Durham community had been elected bishop since Edmund's consecration in 1023, and the HDE was written from the viewpoint of a community reduced to the status of bitter and frustrated observers of the central aspect of the tradition they professed to be perpetuating. But it was scarcely in the interests of the monks to attack outright those who held the see after the Conquest, despite the fact that the Norman bishops offended against the traditions which allegedly carried through from Lindisfarne. Walcher came from Lorraine, was appointed not elected, and was a secular cleric. But his encouragement of the revived houses at Jarrow and Wearmouth, which were eventually brought to Durham under the leadership of their founder, Aldwin, endeared him greatly to the HDE. The real hero of the tale, however, was his successor, William of St Carilef, who reestablished the monks at Durham. The praise of Carilef was intended partly as an implicit reflection on his successor, Ranulf Flambard, who was bishop when the HDE was written, but whose relations with the monks were seldom smooth.¹ In Cosin's V.ii.6, the main scribe took the

¹ See H.S. Offler, 'Ranulf Flambard as Bishop of Durham (1099-1128)', DWJ 64 (1971-2) pp 14-25, at pp 18-19.

opportunity to show his relative opinions of the two bishops by writing Carilef's name in majuscule in the list of bishops on fol 6^v, while leaving Rannulfus in minuscule; on fol 77^v too, where he is mentioned first in the text, Carilef's name appear in majuscule.

The bishops form the main theme of the HDE, but not the only one. Concern with property, the need to show the historical roots of present holdings, is another main thread, and so is the demonstration that 'gregorian' lessons on clerical celibacy had been well assimilated. The clerks in residence before 1083 were condemned for marrying, and elsewhere (Arnold I pp 93-4) a married priest was described as unworthy of office. In one instance, however, the HDE made no comment on the family life of a presbyter whose activities received very favourable mention. Elfred Westou was in charge of the relics of St Cuthbert and had brought a number of other relics to Durham.¹ A long account is given of all this (Arnold I pp 88-90), but it is not said that Elfred was the father of three sons, all of whom became priests and the fathers of priests.² In his case, traditional practices received tacit approval, because his relic-collecting had materially assisted the church, and, just as important, because he was in such close contact with St Cuthbert that Hunc etiam episcopi timuerunt offendere (Arnold I p 87). Here was a clear lesson for the new community, though one which it did not perhaps immediately assimilate.³

¹ See below pp 248-9.

² Raine, Hexham p lv.

³ See below pp 249-50.

Components

This section will attempt to identify the component parts of the HDE. The author notes at the start that his work is compiled from a variety of sources, and that he is hopeful, though not expectant, that his arrangement will please his readers:

Ea scilicet que sparsim in scedulis inuenire potui, ordinatim collecta digessi, ut eo facilius peritiores, si mea non placent, unde sue peritie opus conueniens conficiant, in promptu inueniant (Cosin^os V.ii.6 fol 6^r, printed in Arnold I p 3).

In general terms, each new source or subject is indicated by a new chapter. It is true that the division into books, chapters and chapter headings, which Arnold followed, has the authority only of the third extant manuscript, CUL Ff.1.27 fols 47^r-48^v. But the other three manuscripts examined above also have small coloured initials which mark the same chapter divisions as are described in Ff.1.27; and the two manuscripts earlier than Ff.1.27, Cosin^os V.ii.6 and Cotton Faustina A.v, both have elaborate capitals for Transactis on, respectively, fols 77^v (reproduced above) and 87^v. These initials mark the arrival of bishop William of St Carilef, and indicate the beginning of what the scribes clearly regarded as a new section. Ff.1.27 described this section as 'book four', and followed Cosin^os and Faustina in having an elaborate capital for Transactis. In the fourth extant manuscript, Durham Dean and Chapter Library A.IV.36, the separate nature of what follows Transactis was emphasised by the scribe leaving about half the preceding page (fol 78^r) blank, so that the ornate initial I could be on a new page (fol 78^v). It may be suggested that this section was probably the only part of the work composed in toto after the Benedictines arrived in 1083. That the

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clerks in Durham before this date themselves wrote a chronicle has long been known,¹ and it seems likely that for the period before 1080 the author of the HDE relied on not only this chronicle but also on other material compiled by the clerks. The opening remark of the HDE (quoted above) and especially the reference to material being found sparsim in scedulis suggests this strongly. 'Book four' itself impresses as being more integrated than preceding sections, more like the work of one author.

Some separate elements can, however, be distinguished in this section. (1) the exemplary account of the fate of earl Robert Mowbray of Northumbria and abbot Paul of St Albans after Tynemouth church had been transferred from the possessions of Jarrow to St Albans appears as 'chapter four' (printed in Arnold I pp 124-5). This is derived from the De miraculis et translationibus of St Cuthbert (Arnold II pp 345-7). (2) The letter of William of St Carilef to the monks (Arnold I p 126), which had to be read every week with the Rule in chapter, appears on its own in Durham Dean and Chapter Library B.IV.24 fol 74^r in a hand which appears to be little later than Cosin's V.ii.6. It also appears in Trinity College, Cambridge, 1227 fols 57^r-58^v, a Durham manuscript from the second half of the twelfth century, along with a brief account of Carilef's expulsion of the clerks. (3) The 'vision of Boso' (Arnold I

¹ H.H.E. Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', EHR 40 (1925) pp 504-32.

pp 130-2), which foresees the death of Carilef, is also in Trinity Cambridge 1227 as part, strangely, of the Excerpta de uita et miraculis sancti Cuthberti (fols 26^r-29^v).

The preface to the HDE, from Regnante apud to restituit (Arnold I pp 7-11), which Arnold described as an 'epitome', may perhaps also be regarded as a section composed separately. It appears in Cosin's V.ii.6 fols 1^v-4^v, in a hand of c 1125, somewhat later than that of the main text, and in a separate gathering. The preface is not in Faustina A.v, but does appear in CUL Ff.1.27 fols 46^r-47^r, where, like the main text, it is attributed to Symeon. It seems probable that it was added to Cosin's V.ii.6 sometime between the production of Faustina A.v between 1104 and 1109 and of Ff.1.27 late in the twelfth century. In Durham Dean and Chapter Library A.IV.36 the preface is on fols 1^r-4^r. But though it survives at the earliest in a copy later than that of the main text, the preface may well represent an earlier piece of work. The last events it mentions are the arrival of the monks from Jarrow and Wearmouth in 1083 (Arnold I p 10) and the death in 1085 of pope Gregory VII, who is spoken of as beatae recordationis (ibid). It was probably written while Carilef was still bishop; if composed after his death in 1096, it seems unlikely that the writer would have missed another chance to lament the community's benefactor. Perhaps this short piece was composed soon after Gregory VII's death in 1085, only two years after the monks' arrival in Durham. It may be significant that it ends on a note of praise for the new community, and satisfaction that, as it claims, the old monastic order has been

restored:

Sicque ad illum monachicae conversationis ordinem non nouum instituit, sed antiquum Deo renouante restituit (Arnold I p 11).

The tone of this entry, which says nothing about events in Durham itself after 1083, does seem to suggest a composition date nearer to 1083 than to 1104 x 9, when the main text of the HDE was written.

The material in the bulk of the HDE, between the 'preface' and 'book four', is derived from a variety of sources. As suggested above, the author made use of a variety of sources he found in Durham and there are occasional signs that not all his material has been properly assimilated. For example, there are discrepancies in the reference to the simoniacal tenth-century bishop Sexhelm. It is inferred in two places that he became bishop after committing simony: per symoniacam heresim ordinatus (Arnold I p 20); illo, de quo supradictum est, simoniaco, et post aliquot menses mortuo (ibid p 106).

Elsewhere, it is said that his expulsion resulted from offences after he became bishop:

Defuncto autem Uhtredo episcopo, Sexhelm loco ejus est ordinatus, sed uix aliquot mensibus in ecclesia residens, sancto Guthberto illum expellente, aufugit. Cum enim, a via praedecessorum suorum aberrans, populum ipsius sancti et eos qui in ecclesia ejus seruiabant auaritia succensus affligeret, exterritus a sancto per somnium jussus est quantocius abscedere (ibid p 77).

Likewise, the Conqueror's generosity to Durham is recorded twice (ibid pp 101, 108); clearly there was more than one record of gifts from such a figure.

The debt of the HDE to known written sources is not examined in detail here. Craster demonstrated the dependence on the pre-

monastic chronicle written between 1072 and 1083,¹ and Arnold's edition indicated borrowings from Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica (pp 18, 20-59 passim, 129) and his Vita Sancti Cuthberti (pp 21, 26, 33-9 passim); from the De miraculis et translationibus (pp xxviii-xxxii); from versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (pp 51, 54); and from the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto (pp 62, 68-75 passim, 83, 90). As Dobson pointed out,² the author of the HDE found it necessary to censor one borrowing from the Historia de Sancto Cuthberto. His source told of the Dane Onlafbald entering the church at Chester-le Street and swearing per meos potentes deos, Thor et Othan to oppose the church. The HDE deleted the reference to the pagan gods.³

¹EHR 40 (1952) pp 503-32, at pp 523-9.

²R.B. Dobson, Durham Priory 1400-1450 (Cambridge 1973) p 22 n 1.

³Arnold I pp 209, 73.:

'Historia Regum' and 'De Primo Saxonum Adventu'

The 'Historia Regum' (HR) and the 'De Primo Saxonum Adventu' (DPSA) have always been printed separately, but for reasons given below, should in some senses be considered together.

Manuscripts

1. CCCC 139.
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 692.
3. Liège University Library 369 C.
4. BL Cotton Caligula A.viii.
5. Oxford, Magdalen College 53.
6. Durham Dean and Chapter Library B.II.35.
7. CCCC 66.
8. BL Cotton Domitian viii.

Editions

HR

1. Roger Twysden, Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia de gestis regum Anglorum, in Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem (London 1652) cols 85-256.
2. The annals from 616 to 978 are printed in Monumenta Historica Britannica, ed H. Petrie (London 1848) pp 645-88.
3. J. Hodgson Hinde, Symeonis Dunelmensis Historia Regum, in Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea, Surtees Society 51 (1867) pp 1-131.
4. Thomas Arnold, Historia Regum, in Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia 2 vols 75 (1882-5) 2 (1885) pp 3-283.

DPSA

1. De Primo Saxonum Adventu, sive de eorundem Regibus Libellus, in Hinde pp 202-15.
2. Libellus de primo Saxonum vel Normannorum adventu, sive de eorundem Regibus, in Arnold II pp 365-84.

Introduction

Most aspects of the Historia Regum - contents, manuscripts, dating - have aroused a high degree of controversy, not least the title, which is followed here, but which has no manuscript authority. The limits of the work derive, along with the attribution to Symeon, from the rubrics in CCCC 139 fols 53^v and 131^v. These rubrics are examined in detail above pp 109-11, where it is argued that they represent additions probably not intended by the main scribe or scribes. The material they enclose was thus given what is recognised as in some respects an artificial but enduring unity, which was reinforced by the title 'Historia Regum', invented by Hinde, taken up by Arnold and adopted by subsequent commentators as an established term which would now be impractical to abandon. It has usually been emphasised that the HR should not be regarded as a completed and integrated work of the type produced by William of Malmesbury or William of Newburgh; that it is essentially a collection of historical materials which may have been intended for reshaping at some later date into a more structured form.¹ This conclusion, bearing in mind, however, the 'procrustean'² nature of the rubrics in CCCC 139, seems the only sensible way of explaining the anomaly in the contents of the HR, where two chronicles overlap, one from 616 to 957, the other from 848-1129. Refining this div-

¹Offler, Medieval Historians p 8; P.H. Blair 'Symeon's History of the Kings', AA fourth series 16 (1939) pp 87-100, at p 87.

²Baker, 'MS 139' p 109 n 9.

ision, Blair distinguished nine sections in the work: (1) legends of the Kentish saints Ethelbert and Ethelred; (2) list of Northumbrian kings from Ida to Ceoluulf; (3) material derived mainly from Bede; (4) a series of annals from 732 to 802; (5) more annals, from 849 to 887, derived mainly from Asser. These five sections form the first main division of the work. (6) a chronicle from 888 to 957; (7) extracts from the Gesta Regum of William of Malmesbury. These two sections form the second main division. (8) a chronicle from 848 to 1118, derived mainly from the Worcester chronicle attributed to Florence; (9) a chronicle from 1119 to 1129.¹ Though it has never been noted for any particular historiographical value, the HR is valued for its content, especially the first main chronicle (616 to 957), which incorporates Northumbrian annals from the eighth to the early tenth century which have not survived elsewhere, and which Blair has examined in detail.² The work presents a great number of textual problems. The editions, firstly, are seriously defective in several respects, not least as transcriptions of CCCC 139. Critical apparatus is generally at a minimum. Twysden printed the text as it stands in the manuscript, revised, like so many of the texts in 139, by a succession of late twelfth and early thirteenth-century hands. Annotations, interlineations and marginalia can be found silently incorporated in his text. Hinde carefully noted a great number of

¹ Blair pp 76-7.

² Ibid pp 78-106. See also W.S. Angus, 'The Annals for the Tenth Century in Symeon of Durham's Historia Regum, ' DWJ 32 (1939-40) pp 213-29.

these additions but was selective in what he printed from the rest of the text: 'In preparing this edition, it has been determined to omit all that portion of the text which is taken from Florence of Worcester, beyond such sentences, and passages, as are essential to render the additions intelligible.'¹ Thus, most seriously, none of the extensive passages taken from the Worcester chronicle appears in Hinde's edition, nor does the section taken largely from Bede and printed in Arnold II pp 15-30. Arnold, despite having the advantage of new critical techniques, produced a much less satisfactory edition than Hinde.² As a transcription it is particularly weak, due largely to Arnold's astonishing and almost total reliance on Twysden rather than the manuscript. Arnold failed in nearly every case to draw attention to textual amendments in the manuscript, a serious failing in the edition most often cited by modern commentators. It is hard to understand why Arnold did not make more use of Hinde's edition, or of CCCC 139 itself, which he clearly had seen, since some interlineations did not escape his attention, and he could note on p 87, for example, that liberam had been supplied by Twysden. A transcription of CCCC 139 adequate for modern critical needs would perhaps in itself be sufficient justification for a new edition of the HR. The existence of the three manuscripts

¹ Hinde p xxxiii.

² Offler, Medieval Historians p 21 n 13 noted where the HR borrowed directly from Marianus Scotus, unnoticed by Arnold. Todd and Offler p 154 noted instances in the chronicle of John of Hexham where Arnold misread the manuscript; see also G.W.S. Barrow, Regesta Regum Scottorum I: Acts of Malcolm IV (Edinburgh 1960) p 7 n 3.

largely unused by previous editors - Bibliothèque Nationale Paris
nouv. acq. lat. 692, Liège University Library 369 C and BL

Cotton Caligula A.viii - makes a new edition the more necessary.

Ideally a new edition should be based on these four manuscripts and on a new edition of the Worcester chronicle. The completion of such a scheme lies some way in the future, and is hampered by what appears to be general reluctance among historians to undertake a new edition of the Worcester chronicle. The twelfth-century English chronicles form a vast and tangled interlocking network of annals which is made more rather than less complicated by some of the editions. While an aspect of the most important chronicle derived in part from the HR, that of Roger of Hoveden, is examined below,¹ I regretfully though necessarily here confess to ignoring the sets of annals related to the HR contained in the Chronicle of Melrose, the Chronicle of Holyrood, the chronicle of Alfred of Beverley, ending, like the HR, in 1129 and the Genealogia Regum of Aelred of Rievaulx, all of which made use of the HR and still await a great deal of

¹ Below pp 219-21.

expert attention.¹ Nor do I examine the chronicle of John of Hexham, which formed a sequel to the HR and which appears in both CCC 139 and, uncredited, in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, nouv. acq. lat. 692. As a reassessment of the entire corpus of the works of which HR forms a part remains a distant ideal, I have concentrated on two aspects of the HR which require immediate attention; firstly on the marginalia, annotations and interlineations in CCC 139 not adequately noted in the editions; and secondly on the annals contained in Liège University Library 369 C and in BL Cotton Caligula A.viii, usually thought of as an 'abbreviation' of the HR, and on the relation of these annals to what Blair defined as section 8 of the HR, the chronicle from 848 to 1118, derived mainly from the Worcester chronicle.

¹ See The Chronicle of Melrose, facsimile edn, ed A.O. and M.O. Anderson (London 1936); The Chronicle of Holyrood, ed M.O. Anderson, Scottish History Society third series 30 (Edinburgh 1938); Aluredi Beverlacensis Annales sive Historia de Gestis Regum Britanniae, Libris IX, ed Thomas Hearne (Oxford 1716); Ailredi Abbatis Rievallis genealogia Regum Anglorum, in Twysden cols 347-70. The annals in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS lat. 15009, knowledge of which I owe to Dr V.I.J. Flint, may repay scrutiny in the context of the HR. See also Offler, Medieval Historians p 10; Roger of Hoveden pp xxxi-xxxvi; Aelred Squire, Aelred of Rievaulx (London 1973) pp 91, 153; Gransden pp 195, 212. Aelred's piece on the battle of the Standard was not, pace Gransden p 214, his only historical work.

The date of Asser's Life of Alfred, used in HR, is a continuing debate. The HR itself seems to confirm Whitelock's contention that the life is early and genuine. See Blair pp 100-4, 117-8; Offler, 'Historia Regum' p 51. The main protagonists are Dorothy Whitelock, The Genuine Asser (Reading 1969) and V.H. Galbraith, 'Who wrote Asser's Life of Alfred?', in An Introduction to the Study of History (London 1964) pp 85-128. and idem, review of Whitelock, in MA 38 (1969) pp 178-81. See also D.P. Kirby, 'Northumbria in the reign of Alfred the Great', TAASDN 11 (1965) pp 335-46; idem, 'Asser and his Life of King Alfred', Studia Celtica 6 (1971) pp 12-35; Gransden pp 46-53; John Taylor, review of Gransden, in Northern History 13 (1977) p 294.

The marginalia, annotations and interlineations
in CCCC 139 fols 54r-131v

Here follows a list of the interlineations, marginalia and footnotes in a variety of hands in CCCC 139, some of which have found their way into the accepted text of the HR, together with indications of the treatment accorded them in the three editions. Generally, however, I have not noted interlineations of parts of words such as on fol 71^r, where the lo of genealogia (s.a. 849; Arnold II p 69) is interlined in the hand of the main scribe, or on fol 72^r, where the pu of depopulati (s.a. 864; Arnold II p 73) is treated likewise. None of the editions is usually accurate in transcribing dates or numbers. On fol 65^v, the manuscript reads d.cc.lxx.iiii; Twysden col 107 printed DCCLxxiv, Hinde p 24 followed him, and Arnold II p 45 printed DCCLXXIV. This example could be duplicated many times, but every such correction must await a new edition. The manuscript also contains a great number of marginal headings, such as de edrico streone perfido duce (fol 91^v), which, with the occasional exception of Hinde, were usually, with justification, ignored by the editors.

fol 55^r qua equa promoveatur in eos rationis
sententiola interlined; silently
 incorporated by Twysden col 87, Arnold II
 p 7 and Hinde p 4.

tue interlined after utilitatis; sil. inc.
 by T col 87, A p 7 and H p 4.

cordari changed to cordarum; correction
 sil. inc. by T col 88, A p 8 and H p 4.

fol 55^v pulcherrime changed to pulchritudine;
 correction sil. inc. by T col 88, A p 8
 and H p 5.

fol 56^r honore changed to honorare, probably by
 text hand; correction silently inc. by
 T col 89, A p 11 and H p 6.

ad calorem nimium interlined; sil. inc. by
 T col 90, A pp 11-12 and H p 7.

fol 56^v angelus a marginal addition; sil. inc. by
 T col 90, A p 13 and H p 7.

id eptus changed to adeptus, by addition
 of vel ad above ep; T col 90, A p 14 and
 H p 10 print adeptus.

fol 57^r et caeli secreta scandens interlined;
quia injuste vastaverat Hiberniam interlined;
 both sil. inc. by A p 14 and T col 91, noted
 by H p 10.

et anno vii regni eiusdem natus est beda magnus
 a marginal addition; sil. inc. by T col 91: noted
 by A p 15; passage in which phrase occurs not
 part of H's edition.

¹Abbreviations: hereafter T = Twysden, A = Arnold II,
 H = Hinde and sil. inc. = silently incorporated.

fol 58^r

se vel communem interlined between gloriabatur and singularem; T col 93 and A p 18
print only se; passage not in H

unus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 93 and A p 18; passage not in H.

vel inquietudinis interlined above iniquitatis;
A p 19 notes that Bede preferred the latter reading;
passage not in H; ignored by T.

fol 59^r

Eleusippi interlined; sil. inc. by T col 95 and A p 22.

secundi in MS; A reads secundae.
These passages not in H.

fol 59^v

calamos interlined above animos; ignored by A p 24 and T col 96

vel iudice interlined above uindice;
ignored by A p 24 and T col 96.

confundet changed to confundit; former printed in A p 25 and T col 96.

e interlined above second a of praestat;
former printed in A p 25 and T col 96.

flamas interlined above causas; ignored by A p 25 and T col 97.

These passages not in H.

fol 60^r

timore changed to tremore; former printed in A p 25, and T col 97.

vel nunc vel bat interlined above agitabis acutis; ignored by T col 97 and A p 26.

preparata interlined above parta; former printed in A p 26 and T col 97.

virorum interlined above vivorum; former printed in A p 26 and T col 97.

nec changed to nunc; latter printed in
T col 97 and A p 26.

Second nec in phrase nec pax nec pietas changed
to aut; correction not adopted by T col 97 or
by A p 26.

voragine changed to vertigine; latter printed in
A p 26 and T col 97.

i interlined above second e of merget;
ignored by A p 26 and T col 97.

hominum interlined above nimum; ignored by
A p 26 and T col 97.

vel e interlined above leticia; leticiae
printed A p 27 and T col 98.

fol 60^v ergo interlined above rogo; latter printed
T col 98 and A p 27.

Ac dominum benedicere secla per omnium christum
interlined between lines beginning utque illas and
Sedibus; A p 27 prints it after Sedibus simply
with comment that the line is not in Migne's
edition; ignored by T col 98.

Acca interlined above frater; ignored by T col 98
and A p 27.

vel verne interlined above servi; ignored by
T col 98 and A.

breviter interlined; sil. inc. by A p 28 and T col 98.

potantes interlined above describentes; ignored
by T col 98 and A p 28.

in calce interlined; sil. inc. by A p 28 and
T col 98.

menses vi interlined; sil. inc. by A p 28 and
T col 98.

et in ecclesia Sancti Petri interlined; sil. inc.
by A p 28 in large type, and by T col 98.

lindisse interlined above lindisfarorum;
ignored by A p 28 and T col 98.

These passages not in H.

fol 62^r

catholice interlined; sil. inc. by A p 29
and T col 99.

voluerit interlined; sil. inc. by A p 29
and T col 99.

The xxx of dccxxxiii interlined, and the xxx
of dccxxxiiii interlined; both sil. inc. by
T cols 99-100 and A p 29.

vel cinium interlined above galli cantum;
ignored by A p 30 and H p 12 and T col 100.

vel christiane fidei et religionis interlined;
noted by A p 31 and H p 12; A however is not
correct in saying it is in 'a hand considerably
later'; sil. inc. by T col 100.

fol 62^v

s.a. 734 doctissimus interlined; sil. inc.
by T col 100 and A p 31; noted by H p 12.

s.a. 735 vel ordinatus est interlined; ignored
by T col 100 and A p 31; ordinatus noted as
interlineation by H p 12.

s.a. 737 The xxxvii of dccxxxvii interlined;
not noted by A or H or T.

Midilenglis changed to Midilanglis; not noted
by A, H or T.

Celwlfus dimisit et monachus apud lindisfarnensem
insulam factus est et pro eo; sil. inc. by A p 32
and T col 100; noted by H p 13.

dcc.xxxviii; A p 32 and H p 13 both follow
T col 100 in printing the year as 737 rather
than 738.

fol 63^r

s.a. 740 servant interlined; sil. inc. by
T col 101, by A p 33 and H p 14.

memorie interlined; sil. inc. by T col 101
and A p 33; noted by H p 14.

fol 63^v

eam interlined before devastaturos; sil. inc. by T col 103, A p 36 and H p 17.

fol 64^r

navis interlined; sil. inc. by T col 103 and A p 37; noted by H p 17.

vel accepit added before assumpsit; ignored by T col 104 and A p 38 and H p 18.

s.a. 745 Anno septingentesimo xlv added over erasure; ignored by T col 104, A p 38 and H p 18.

secundus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 104; noted by A p 39 and H p 18.

episcopus interlined; noted by A p 39; sil. inc by H p 18 and T col 104.

ille primus Wilfridus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 104; noted by A p 39; ille primus noted by H p 18.

his temporibus floruit sanctus anchorita Guthlacus; interlined; noted by A p 39 and H p 18; sil. inc. by T col 104.

fol 64^v

s.a. 750 Anno septingentesimo l in different hand, probably over erasure; printed in T col 104, A p 39 and H p 19 as Anno DCCL.

s.a. 752 Eata obiit in Craic apud Eboracum in margin; ignored by A and T; H p 19 misread the note as Lata obc - - - apud Eboracum. Anno d in phrase Anno dcclv added over erasure; ignored by A, H and T.

s.a. 756 MS reads in condicionem, with de interlined in different hand; A p 40, T col 105 print inde conditionem; H p 20 prints in deditionem, and is incorrect in saying that 'the words inde condicionem (are) - - - written instead of in deditionem. The correct reading is interlined^o. XV interlined above luna; sil. inc. by A p 41, H p 20 & T col 105.

illuminatam interlined; sil. inc. by A p 41, H p 20 and T col 105.

s.a. 758 Northymbrorum interlined; sil. inc. by A p 41 and H p 20 and T col 105.

s.a. 759 Anno may be over erasure.

fol 65^r

s.a. 759 secus Melros interlined; noted by A p 41 and H p 21; sil. inc. by T col 105.

The Eld of Eldunum
probably over erasure; ignored by A, H and T.

s.a. 762 Novembris in Cateracta an addition;
sil. inc. by A p 42, H p 21 and T col 105.

s.a. 764 Anno dcclxiiii in different hand,
probably over erasure.

n. Maii interlined between migravit and
pro quo; ignored by A p 43, H p 22, and T col 106.

s.a. 768 quondam rex tunc autem clericus, partly
marginal note, partly interlined;
apud Eboracum, marginal note; both sil. inc. by
A p 44 and T col 106; H p 23 notes both as
interlineations.

fol 65^v

s.a. 771 id est triumphum interlined; ignored by
A p 44 and T col 107; noted by H p 23.

famosissimus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 106
and A p 44; noted by H p 23.

vel isset interlined above optinuit; ignored by
A and T; H p 23 notes vel obtinuisset
as interlineation.

s.a. 772 viris interlined; sil. inc. by T col 106
and by A p 44 and H p 23.

Anno septingentesimo lxxii over erasure, possibly in
text hand; sil. inc. by A p 44, H p 23 and
T col 107; all print the year in numerals.

s.a. 773 beverlacensis diem over erasure, possibly in
text hand; sil. inc. by A p 45, H p 24 and
T col 107.

Wlfach obiit abbas in margin; ignored by A and T;
noted by H p 24.

s.a. 774 vel se concissit interlined; ignored by
A p 45 and T col 107; H p 24 notes vel se concessit
as interlineation.

de civitate Bebbæ in margin; ignored by A p 45
and T col 107; noted by H p 24.

et pretiosum interlined; ignored by A p 45 and T col 107; noted by H p 24.

s.a. 775 vel quoque interlined; ignored by T col 107 and by A p 46; noted by H p 25.

gravissimis interlined; sil. inc. by T col 107 and A p 46; noted by H p 25.

vel efferatus interlined; ignored by T and A p 46; noted by H p 25.

et Aresburh t interlined; sil. inc. by T col 108 and A p 46; noted by H p 25.

s.a. 778 septingentesimo septuagesimo viii tres duces added at foot of page; sil. inc. by A p 46, H p 25 and T col 108.

fol 66^r

s.a. 778/9 declarabit sermo Anno igitur dcclxxix added over erasure; sil. inc. by T col 108, A p 46 and H p 25.

s.a. 780 vel ac interlined above suscepto; ignored by T col 108 and A p 47; H p 26 notes vel accepto as interlineation.

s.a. 781 hibaldus consecratus est episcopus footnote; sil. inc. by T col 108 and A p 47; noted by H p 26.

fol 66^v

reatus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 109 and A p 49; noted by H p 27.

fol 67^r

sanctus interlined after Tilberhtus namque; sil. inc. by T col 110 and A p 50; noted by H p 28.

s.a. 783 quintus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 110, A p 50 and H p 28.

s.a. 786 et primatibus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 110 and A p 51; Hinde p 29 prints a praesulibus vel primatibus and claims, inaccurately, that vel primatibus is interlined and sive a principibus is in text.

s.a. 788 the de of depictae interlined; sil. inc. by T col 111, A p 52 and H p 29.

fol 67^v

de hexitildissaham a marginal heading; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 29.

nepos eius interlined; sil. inc. by T col 111 and A p 52; noted by H p 29.

iustus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 111 and A p 52; noted by H p 29.

s.a. 790 et captus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 111, A p 52 and H p 30.

occidi vel occisus interlined; T col 111, A p 52 and H p 30 all print occidi, T and A without comment; H inaccurately notes occidi, vel occisus est as an interlineation.

sancto interlined; sil. inc. by T col 111 and A p 53; noted by H p 30.

s.a. 791 de lindisfarnensi insula a marginal heading; ignored by the three editors.

s.a. 792 scilicet Ethelredo interlined, perhaps by text hand; sil. inc. by T col 111 and A p 54; noted by H p 31.

s.a. 793 crebescire in margin; ignored by T col 112 and A p 54; noted by H p 31.

fol 68^r

vel convenienter interlined above congruenter; ignored by T and A; H p 31 notes it inaccurately as a marginal note.

vel mare interlined; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 32.

Descriptio lindisfarnensis insule in margin; ignored by the three editors.

vel Quibus recte illud aptari potest in margin; ignored by T col 112 and A p 55; noted by H p 32.

et pravis actibus in margin; T col 113 and A p 56 and H p 32 all print de praeda vel malis actibus gratulantibus; H p 32 notes only pravis as an interlineation; the MS originally read de praeda vel malis gratulantibus.

s.a. 794 quippe interlined; sil. inc. by T col 113 and A p 56; noted by H p 32.

fol 68^v

vel marmor interlined; ignored by T col 113 and A p 57; noted by H p 33.

s.a. 796 fortissimus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 113 and A p 57; noted by H p 33.

queque changed to quodque by interlineation of od; sil. inc. by T col 113, A p 57 and H p 33.

s.a. 796 v kal aprilis a marginal note; ignored by the three editors.

anno vii regni sui a marginal note; sil. inc. by T col 113 and A p 57; noted by H p 34.

potentissimus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 113 and A p 58; noted by H p 34.

pater sancti kenelmi martyris interlined; sil. inc. by T col 114 and A p 58; noted by H p 34.

anno interlined; sil. inc. by T col 114, A p 58 and H p 34.

septembris interlined; sil. inc. by T col 114, A p 58 and H p 34.

s.a. 797 id est nativitas sancte marie interlined; sil. inc. by T col 114 and A p 58; noted by H p 34.

augustaldensis interlined; sil. inc. as Hagustaldensis by T col 114 and A p 59; noted by H p 34.

fol 69^r

s.a. 798 principalibus et ecclesiasticis a footnote; sil. inc. by T col 114 and A p 60 noted by H p 35; all editors print ecclesiasticis. atque clericorum interlined; sil. inc. by T col 114 and A p 60; noted by H p 35.

suaviter et interlined; sil. inc. by T col 115, A p 60 and H p 35.

vel scribitur interlined; ignored by T col 115 and A p 60; noted by H p 36.

fol 69^v s.a. 799 vel profundissima interlined; ignored by T col 116; noted by A p 62 and H p 37.

vel ignorantie interlined; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 37.

fol 70^r s.a. 801 pars interlined; sil. inc. by T col 118, A p 66 and H p 40.

fol 70^v s.a. 802 vel in matrimonium interlined; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 40.

vel necare interlined; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 40.

vel valde interlined; ignored by T and A; H p 40 notes, inaccurately, vel valde amabilis as an interlineation.

et carus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 118, A p 66 and H p 40.

vel extinxit interlined; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 41.

vel scelere interlined; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 41

velis interlined; sil. inc. by T col 118, A p 67 and H p 41.

execrabilis et; nequiter et; nequius all interlined; sil. inc. by T col 118 and A p 67; noted by H p 41.

miserabilius et interlined; sil. inc. by T col 118 A p 67 and H p 41.

vel parvo tempore interlined; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 41.

et angore interlined; sil. inc. by T col 118 and A p 68; noted by H p 41.

venefica illa nequissima timore perterrita; sil. inc. by T col 118 and A p 67; noted by H p 41.

Anno dccc.iii hibaldus episcopus obiit et egbertus ei successit. Anno dcccxxx Celnodus consecratus est episcopus et felgildus abbas obiit et egredus episcopus factus est. Anno dcccxlvi Eanbertus episcopatum suscepit; sil. inc. by T col 119; noted by A p 68 and H p 42.

potentissimus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 119; noted by A p 68 and H p 42.

cui successit filius eius ethelbaldus, deinde frater suus Ethebyrtus. Post quem frater suus Ethelredus. Post hunc frater eorum Elfredus. Denique Ethelwlf habuit ex conjuge sua nobili iiii filios, scilicet Ethelbaldus (sic), et Ethelbirtum, et Ethelredum et Alfredum;

the phrase ex conjuge sua nobili is interlined; all three editors print Ethelbaldum; the passage sil. inc. by T col 119; noted by A p 68 and H p 42.

qui omnes sibi invicem in regnum successerunt an addition; sil. inc. by T col 119; noted by A p 68 and H p 42.

Erat enim strenuissimus vir et potens, multaque regna suo subiecit imperio. Regnavit annis xxxvi; sil. inc. by T col 119; noted by A p 68 and H p 42.

H p 41 makes a rare error in stating et irrationabilius to be interlined; it is in fact in the text.

fol 71^r

s.a. 849 the lo of genealogia, the fuir before Alhmundi and the fuir before Lameth all interlined, probably by main scribe, and all sil. inc. by T col 119, A p 69 and H p 43.

fol 71^v

s.a. 852 The secundo of 852 (printed by A as DCCCLII) and the Et of Ethelstanus (sic) are written over an erasure.

s.a. 853 vel spolia interlined; ignored by T col 120 and A p 71; noted by H p 44.

The met in sibimet interlined; sil. inc. by T col 120, A p 71 and H p 44.

Mancusa in se continet xxx denarios a marginal note; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 45.

fol 72^r

s.a. 864 the pu of depopulati interlined; sil. inc. by T, A and H.

s.a. 866 ducibus remains of a partially erased marginal note; ignored by T, A and H.

fol 72^v

vel rit added above fuerat; ignored by T, A and H

fol 73^r

s.a. 869 the i of d.ccclxix interlined; the ad in ad coelestis interlined; sil. inc. by T col 124, A p 77 and H p 50.

s.a. 870 Una miriada est XX milia a marginal note; ignored by the three editors.

T col 124, A p 76 and H p 50 print sicut de mille in XX myriadas; this obeys corrections made to MS.

do of dorobornie interlined above erasure; sil. inc. by T col 124, A p 77 and H p 50.

fol 73^v

s.a. 871 construunt interlined; sil. inc. by A p 79, H p 51 and T col 125.

fol 74^v

s.a. 873 Anglorum interlined; sil. inc by T col 127, and A p 81; noted by H p 53.

s.a. 874 pervenit and nomine both interlined; sil. inc. by T col 127, A p 82 and H p 54.

s.a. 875 et eam vastavit interlined; sil. inc. by T col 127 and A p 82; noted by H p 54.

vii added above ix (in account of body of St Cuthbert); T col 127, A p 82 and H p 54 print ix.

fol 75^r

s.a. 877 vel ducebat interlined; ignored by T col 128 and A p 83; noted by H p 55.

s.a. 879 exercitus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 129, A p 84 and H p 56.

fol 75^v

Elogio canteri in Cirencestre a marginal heading; ignored by the editors.

s.a. 880 accessit interlined; sil. inc. by T col 129 and A p 57; H p 57 incorrectly notes Anglos as an interlineation.

s.a. 883 Guthred ex servo factus est rex, et sedes episcopalis in Cunkecestra restauratur interlined; sil. inc. by T col 130; noted by A p 86 and H p 58.

fol 76^r

s.a. 884 Ealthrid over an erasure; sil. inc. by T col 130, A p 87 and H p 59.

fol 76^v

s.a. 887 sane interlined; sil. inc by T col 131 and A p 89; ignored by H p 60.

ad before vestitum interlined; sil. inc. by T col 132, A p 91 and H p 61.

bona corrected to dona; sil. inc. by T col 132, A p 91 and H p 61.

fol 77^r

s.a. 891 Anno dccc.xc.i heathured suscepit episcopatum a footnote; sil. inc. by T col 132; noted by A p 92 and H p 62; as A and H say, the note is misplaced, since Heathured became bishop of Lindisfarne in 819, not 891.

fol 77^v

s.a. 950 delere interlined; sil. inc. by T col 135 and A p 94; noted by H p 65.

William of Malmesbury extracts: vel amore interlined above humore; ignored by T col 137; A p 98 notes amore as Malmesbury's reading; passage not in H.

issim interlined in religiosissime; sil. inc. by T col 137 and A p 98; passage not in H.

fol 79^r

genealogy of Alfred: Qui fuit Cerdic. Qui fuit Elesa; qui fuit Esla a footnote: sil. inc. by T col 138 and A p 99; passage not in H.

s.a. 851 Anno d.cccli Karl dommanie added over erasure; sil. inc. by T col 138 and A p 100; passage not in H.

fol 79^v

grates interlined; sil. inc. by T col 138 and A p 100.

s.a. 853 nativitas elfredi v to an addition; sil. inc. by T col 138 and A p 101.

s.a. 854 vel ei interlined above sibi; ignored by T and A; these passages not in H.

fol 80^r

s.a. 855 ac contra omnium consuetudinem
thorum patris sui ascendans an addition,
partly over erasure; sil. inc. by T col 140
and A p 103; passage not in H.

eadem tempestate likewise over erasure; sil.
inc. by T col 140 and A p 103; passage not in H.

s.a. 860 et amabiliter atque honorabiliter
gubernato added over erasure; sil. inc. by
T col 140 and A p 103; passage not in H.

de sancto Edmundo; Sanctus swithunus marginal
headings; ignored by the three editors.

fol 80^v

s.a. 866 rege haldano an addition; sil. inc.
by T col 141 and A p 104; passage not in H.

Hic Inguar et Ubba primo angliam venerunt in
margin; ignored by T col 141 and A p 104;
passage not in H.

atheling interlined; sil. inc. by T col 141
and A p 104; passage not in H.

s.a. 867 Nam northumbri an addition; sil. inc.
by T col 142, A p 105 and H p 69.

est an addition after sedata; sil. inc. by
T col 142, A p 105 and H p 70.

fol 81^r

id est danis interlined above paganis; ignored
by T col 142, A p 106 and H p 70.

Quibus predicti pagani sub suo dominio regem
Egbertum prefecerunt a footnote; sil. inc.
by T col 142, A p 106 and H p 70; all
editors intrude peractis after Quibus, though
it is not in the MS.

s.a. 868 id est indignus interlined; ignored
by T and A; passage not in H.

s.a. 870 sanctus Edmundus a marginal heading;
ignored by the three editors.

fol 82^r

s.a. 872 werefrithum before Wlfere deleted by underlining; omitted without comment in T col 145, A p 110 and H p 70.

s.a. 875 ac omnia monasteria destruxit an addition; sil. inc. by T col 145 and A p 110; noted by H p 71.

fol 82^v

Hoc tempore cessavit augustaldensis episcopatus in margin; ignored by T col 145 and A p 110.

s.a. 876 De Rollone primo Normannorum duce. Hic genere Dacus, postea baptizatur, Rodbertus vocatus est; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 71.

aque an addition; sil. inc. by T col 145 and A p 111; passage not in H.

Kair wise id est excestre; a marginal heading ignored by T, A and H.

s.a. 877 Inguar et haldane reges danorum occisi sunt a ministris Elfredi regis in margin; ignored by T, A and H.

de of demetica interlined; sil. inc. by T col 146, A p 111 and H p 72.

Elfredi interlined; sil. inc. by T col 146 A p 112 and H p 72.

fol 83^r

s.a. 881 hostes interlined; sil. inc by T col 147 and A p 113; passage not in H.

s.a. 883 Guthredus ex servo factus est rex. His temporibus sedes episcopalis lindisfarnensis insule usque ad cunecestriam transmutata est in margin; ignored by T col 147 and A p 114; noted by H p 73.

fol 83^v

s.a. 884 De Johanne scotto viro doctissimo a marginal heading; ignored by T, A and H.

fol 84^r

vel Melmesbiria interlined above Melduni; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 75.

cedis interlined above necis; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 75.

s.a. 885 alemannorum in margin; sil. inc by T col 149 and A p 117; noted by H p 75.

fol 84^v

s.a. 886 Marinus papa obiit an addition; sil. inc. by T col 150 and A p 118; passage not in H.

s.a. 887 que interlined in phrase magnoque; sil. inc. in T col 146 and A p 118; passage not in H.

fol 85^r

s.a. 897 anno interlined; sil. inc. by T col 151 and A p 120; passage not in H.

fol 85^v

s.a. 913 Tilredus episcopatum suscepit a footnote; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 76.

fol 86^r

s.a. 921 the d of Regnaldus an addition possibly over an erasure.

s.a. 924 Hic Edwardus cognomento senior migravit ad dominum a marginal note; ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

s.a. 925 rex an addition; sil. inc. by T col 154 and A p 124; passage not in H.

fol 86^v

s.a 937 The last i of the year is interlined.

obiit rex Aethelstanus a marginal note; ignored by the editors.

s.a. 941 Wigredus episcopus obiit et Uctredus successit an addition; sil. inc. by T col 155 and A p 125; noted by H p 77; T and A print Getredus for Uctredus.

s.a. 943 sancta interlined; sil. inc. by T col 155 and A p 125; passage not in H.

regenerationis interlined; sil. inc. by T col 155 and A p 126; passage not in H.

fol 87^r

s.a. 948 Anno d.cccc.xl.viii Aldredus qui post uchtredum fuit episcopus obiit et Ailsi ei successit a footnote; sil. inc. by T col 156 and A p 126, who noted only that the date is wrong; noted by H p 77.

s.a. 949 Taddenescilf erat tunc uilla regia
que nunc uocatur puntfrait romane,
anglice uero Kirkebi; ignored by T col 156
 and A p 126; noted by H p 77.

s.a. 954 obiit rex Eadredus a marginal note;
 ignored by T, A and H.

fol 87^v

s.a. 956 obiit wlstanus eboracensis
archiepiscopus a marginal note; ignored
 by T and A; passage not in H.

s.a. 957 Rex Edvius de regno expellitur,
regnavit tunc super uuestsaxones; ignored
 by T col 157 and A p 128; passage not in H.

abbatem interlined; sil. inc. by T col 157
 and A p 128; passage not in H.

s.a. 958 extitit interlined; sil. inc. by
 T col 157 and A p 128; passage not in H.

The sul of archiepraesul (printed by T and
 A as Archipraesul) interlined; sil. inc.
 by T col 157 and A p 128; passage not in H.

obiit sanctus Odo dorobernien archiepiscopus
 a marginal note; ignored by T and A; passage
 not in H.

s.a. 959 Rex Edvius obiit et Edgarus
ascenditur a marginal note; ignored by
 T and A; passage not in H.

regna interlined; sil. inc. by T col 157
 and A p 128; passage not in H.

in interlined before omnibus; sil. inc. by
 T col 158 and A p 129; passage not in H.

s.a. 963 venerabilis interlined; sil. inc.
 by T col 158 and A p 129; passage not in H.

fol 88^r

s.a. 964 vel devenescire interlined above domnanie;
 ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

s.a. 970 translatio sancti suithunii a
 marginal heading; ignored by T and A;
 passage not in H.

s.a. 972 Obiit sanctus oskytellus eboracensis archiepiscopus; ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

s.a. 973 id est bathe interlined above acamanni; ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

vel cestre interlined above civitatem; ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

fol 88^v

s.a. 975 rex interlined; sil. inc. by T col 159 and A p 131; passage not in H.

Obiit eadgarus rex a marginal note; ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

cum before borealem changed to ad, probably by main scribe; correction silently adopted by T col 160 and A p 131; passage not in H.

collocaverat changed to locaverat; correction silently adopted by T col 160 and A p 132; passage not in H.

fol 89^r

s.a. 978 Eadwardus rex anglorum a noverca sua occisus est; ignored by T col 160 and A p 132; passage not in H.

s.a. 980 Iterum venerunt danici pirate in angliam regnante rege ethelredo; ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

s.a. 984 Obiit sanctus ethelwoldus uuintoniensis episcopus; ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

fol 89^v

s.a. 988 Obiit sanctus dunstanus archiepiscopus a marginal note; ignored by T col 161 and A p 134; passage not in H.

The rubricator has mistakenly drawn a large coloured A instead of B for Beatus.

s.a. 991 Anno dcccc. xcv Alduinus episcopus transtulit de cestre Dunholm corpus sancti cuthberti episcopi a marginal note; probably in a late thirteenth-century hand; ignored by the three editors.

s.a. 992 Obiit sanctus osuualdus eboracensis archiepiscopus; ignored by the three editors.

Above the stud of Medeshamstudensis is interlined vel burh; ignored in the three editions.

s.a. 994 itaque changed to circaque through interlineation of circa; correction silently adopted by T col 162 and A p 135 passage not in H.

fol 90^r

s.a. 997 quam of quampluribus interlined; sil. inc. by T col 162 and A p 136. passage not in H.

obiit sanctus dunstanus archiepiscopus a marginal note; ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

fol 90^v

s.a. 1001 tantum interlined; sil. inc. by T col 162 and A p 136; passage not in H.

s.a. 1002 solvere in majuscule over erasure, and sign directs reader to footnote: Hujus rei gratia dux leofsus ad eos est transmissus. Qui cum venisset, stipendium et tributum ut acciperent flagitavit; sil. inc. by T col 164 and A p 137; passage not in H.

obiit aldulfus eboracensis archiepiscopus in margin; ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

fol 91^r

s.a. 1003 rus in pugnaturus an addition; sil. inc. by T col 165 and A p 138; passage not in H.

magnam interlined; sil. inc. by T col 165 and A p 138; passage not in H.

fol 91^v

s.a. 1007 servanda interlined above tenenda; ignored by T col 166 and A p 140 passage not in H.

de edrico streone perfido duce; ignored by T col 166 and A p 140.

s.a. 1009 suas interlined before naves; sil. inc. by T col 162 and A p 141; these passages not in H.

fol 92^r

s.a. 1010 vel eque caput interlined above mirenheafed; ignored by T col 167 and A p 142. extiterunt changed to restiterunt; change silently adopted by T col 167 and A p 142.

regis interlined; sil. inc. by T col 167 and A p 142; these passages not in H.

s.a. 1011 in boreali parte Thamesis interlined in sixteenth-century hand; sil. inc. by T col 168 and A p 142; passage not in H. Other sixteenth-century notes in the same hand s.a. 1011 have been ignored by the editors.

fol 92^v

ris of viris interlined; sil. inc. by T col 168 and A p 143.

s.a. 1012 sanctus archiepraesul a danis martirisatur Alfege; ignored by T and A; these passages not in H.

fol 93^r

s.a. 1013 Initium regni danorum in anglia. Suanus prior canuti primus danorum regnavit in anglia; ignored by the editors.

vel burh interlined above medeshastudensem; ignored by the editors.

comes interlined; sil. inc. by T col 170 and A p 145; passage not in H.

fol 93^v

s.a. 1014 dubio of proculdubio an addition; sil. inc. by T col 170 and A p 146; sil. inc. by T col 170 and A p 146.

& apud Eboracum sepultus fuit an addition at foot of page; sil. inc. by T col 171 and in large type by A p 146.

Suanus tirannus a sancto eadmundo invisibiliter occiditur a marginal addition; ignored by T cols 170-1 and A p 146.

terram after Lindeseigiam changed to totam; change silently adopted by T col 171 and A p 147. These passages not in H.

fol 94^r

s.a. 1015 terram interlined before Sigeferthi; sil. inc. by T col 171 and A p 147.

Canutus rex danorum venit in angliam
a marginal heading; ignored by T and A.

s.a. 1016 Obiit rex egelredus pater
eaduuardi post xxxvii annos regni sui;
ignored by T and A. These passages not in H.

fol 94^v transferatur in regnum alienum cuius
ritum et linguam gens cui praesides non
novit. Nec expiabitur nisi longa uindicta
peccatum tuum a footnote; sil. inc. by T
cols 172-3 and A p 149; passage not in H.

venientes interlined; sil. inc. by T col
173 and A p 149.

primum bellum inter Eadmundum Ferreumlatus
et Canutum; secundum bellum; both ignored
by T, A and H.

ubi interlined; sil. inc. by T col 173 and
by A p 150; passage not in H.

fol 95^r Tertium bellum and Quartum bellum marginal
headings; also ignored by the editors.
hic interlined; sil. inc. by T col 173
and by A p 150 in large type.

fol 95^v Quintum bellum a marginal heading; also
ignored by the editors.

proelio changed to bello; latter printed by
T col 175 and A p 153.

Obiit rex Eadmundus Ferreum-latus a marginal
heading; ignored by T and A; these passages
not in H.

fol 96^r s.a. 1017 fēdus erased before percusserunt
by underlining; correction silently
adopted by T col 176 and A p 154; passage
not in H.

fol 96^v Margareta mater David regis; perfidus dux
edricus a canuto rege occiditur marginal
headings; both ignored by T cols 176-7
and A p 155.

s.a. 1018 Aldunus episcopus obiit a footnote;
ignored by T col 177 and A p 156.

s.a. 1023 Obiit Wlstanus secundus eboracensis archiepiscopus, a marginal heading; ignored by T col 177 and A p 156; these passages not in H.

fol 97^r

s.a. 1030 Sanctus olavus rex a norreganis perimitur a marginal heading; ignored by T col 178, A p 157 and H p 80.

canutus expulerat ... norreganis (final two lines of annal for 1030) may be in a different hand; T col 178, A p 157 and H p 80 all print Canutus rex, whereas the MS reads rex Canutus.

s.a. 1031 elemo deleted by underlining ignored by T col 178, A p 157; passage not in H.

s.a. 1035 emma interlined above algiva; ignored by T col 179, A p 158; passage not in H.

obiit canutus rex; obiit rodbertus dux normannie. Successit Willelmus bastard filius eius both marginal headings; both ignored by the editors.

fol 97^v

s.a. 1036 posuit in a different hand over an erasure.

s.a. 1037 vel emma interlined above algiva; ignored by T col 179, A p 159 passage not in H.

s.a. 1039 obiit haroldus rex anglorum filius canuti regis a marginal addition; sil. inc. by T col 180 and in large type by A p 160; passage not in H.

fol 98^r

s.a. 1041 hardecanutus added over erasure; sil. inc. by T col 181 and A p 161.

fol 98^v

s.a. 1042 iuxta interlined; sil. inc. by T col 181 and A p 162.

Obiit heardecanutus rex filius canuti. Successit frater eius eadwardus filius ethelredi regis a marginal heading; ignored by the editors.

Eadmundus episcopus obiit. cui edredi per pecuniam in episcopatum successit et x mense moritur, a footnote; sil. inc. by T col 181 and H p 80; noted by A p 162.

s.a. 1044 augusti interlined; sil. inc. by T col 182 and A p 163; passage not in H.

fol 99^r s.a. 1046 Aldredus in a different hand over erasure; sil. inc. by T col 182 and A p 163. passage not in H.

fol 99^v s.a. 1049 naves, vero, monasterii all interlined; all sil. inc. by T cols 183-4 and A pp 165-6; passage not in H.

s.a. 1051 obiit Alfricus eboracensis archiepiscopus. Successit Kinsius a marginal heading; ignored by T col 184 and A p 166; passage not in H.

qui interlined; sil. inc. by T col 184 and A p 166; passage not in H.

fol 100^r discordia inter regem eadwardum et Goduuinum comitem et filios eius a marginal heading; ignored by the editors.

fol 100^v Goduvinus comes cum filiis suis expellitur anglia a marginal heading; ignored by the three editors.

suum an addition; sil. inc. by T col 185 and A p 168; passage not in H.

fol 101^r s.a. 1052 pacem interlined; sil. inc. by T col 186 and A p 169; passage not in H.

fol 101^v s.a. 1053 obiit comes Goduvinus; ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

s.a. 1054 hoc anno bellum apud marmortini fuit; ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

s.a. 1055 obiit siuuardus dux northimbrorum a marginal heading; ignored by T, A and H.

cum suis copiis occurreret in a different hand in text over erasure; sil. inc. by T col 188 and A p 171; passage not in H.

fol 102^r

s.a. 1057 obiit leofricus comes a
 marginal heading; ignored by T and A;
 passage not in H.

fol 102^v

s.a. 1058 the an of Walanorum interlined;
 sil. inc. by T col 189 and A p 174;
 passage not in H.

s.a. 1059 obiit henricus rex francorum
 and s.a. 1060 obiit Kinsius eboracensis
archiepiscopus marginal headings; both
 ignored by T and A; passages not in H.

s.a. 1059 Kinsi eboracensis archiepiscopus,
et Egelwinus dunelmensis episcopus,
et Tosti Comes Eboraci deduxerunt regem
Malcolmum. ad regem Eadwardum a footnote;
 noted by A p 174 and H p 80;
 sil. inc. by T col 190.

fol 103^r

s.a. 1062 the ba of instigabant interlined;
 sil. inc. by T col 191 and A p 176; passage
 not in H.

fol 104^r

s.a. 1065 Comes Tostius de anglia expulsus
est a marginal heading; ignored by T and
 A; passage not in H.

s.a. 1066 pridie Nonas Januarii a footnote;
 sil. inc. by T col 193 and A p 179;
 passage not in H.

obiit eaduardus rex anglorum successit
haroldus a marginal heading; ignored
 by T and A; passage not in H.

vel lindeseiam interlined above lindoriam;
 ignored by T and A; passage not in H.

fol 104^v

Haroldus harvager rex norrganorum cum
exercitu in angliam venit;

primum bellum inter anglos et norreganos
iuxta eboracum;

secundum bellum. haroldus harvager rex
norreganorum et comes Tostius et
fere exercitus ab anglis victi sunt;

bellum inter anglos et normannos apud
hastinum;

all are marginal headings ignored by
the editors.

fol 105^r

Haroldus rex occisus est. Willelmus victor
regnum optinuit anglie;

Quare Willelmus angliam bello petiit;
both marginal headings; ignored by T
and A; passages not in H.

Ut autem (T col 195 and A p 182) reads
in MS Et autem; passage not in H.

ap added to petiit; sil. inc. by T
col 195, A p 182 and H p 81.

filius ejus interlined; sil. inc. by
T col 195, A p 183 and H p 81.

fol 105^v

cum nongentis navibus a footnote; sil.
inc. by T col 197; noted by A p 184
and H p 83.

fol 106^r

s.a. 1069 Cenobium sancti Germani de
Selebi sumpsit exordium; sil. inc. by
T col 198; noted by A p 186 and H p 83.

fol 106^v

Obiit aldredus eboracensis archiepiscopus
a marginal heading; ignored by T and A;
noted by H p 84.

fol 107^v

s.a. 1070 ibidem a marginal addition;
sil. inc. by T col 200, A p 190 and H p 87.

fol 108^r

Origo David regis scotie a marginal
heading; ignored by T and A; noted
by H p 88.

presbyteros a marginal addition; sil.
inc. by T col 201 and A p 192; passage
not in H.

ecclesie a marginal addition; sil. inc.
by T col 202 and A p 193; passage not in H.

vel northuuichi interlined above
orientalium; ignored by T col 202 and
A p 194; passage not in H.

fol 108^v

Thomas est ordinatus primus eboracensis archiepiscopus a marginal heading; ignored by T, A and H.

fol 109^r

s.a. 1072 the tem of comitem added over erasure; sil. inc. by T col 203, A p 196 and H p 89.

de comiti northumbrie a marginal heading; ignored by the editors.

fol 109^v

in interlined in phrase usque in diem; sil. inc. by T col 205, A p 199 and H p 92.

albrio may be over erasure; printed thus by H p 92; Albrico printed in T col 205 and A p 199.

filius ex filia quondam comitis Aldredi Aelfleda an addition; sil. inc. by T col 205, A p 199 and H p 93.

fol 110^r

s.a. 1074 The hilde of hildebrandus is in a different hand in the text; sil. inc. by T col 205, A p 200 and H p 93.

fol 111^v

s.a. 1075 Walcherus episcopus perimitur a marginal heading; ignored by the editors.

Waltheus comes decapitatur a marginal addition; ignored by T col 209 and A p 207; noted by H p 98.

s.a. 1078 fundata est abbatia sancte marie eboraci an addition (the last two words a footnote); sil. inc. by T col 210 and A p 208; noted by H p 98.

fol 112^r

s.a. 1080 Walcherus episcopus perimitur; Waltheus comes decapitatur; both marginal headings misplaced from previous folio.

fol 112^v

s.a. 1081 adversus a marginal addition; sil. inc. by T col 212, A p 212 and H p 101.

fol 113^r

s.a. 1083 in dunelmum an addition; sil. inc. by T col 212; noted by A p 212 but not precisely by H p 101.

s.a. 1085 Rodberto cestrensem dedit
presulatum; and the rtensem of
Theodfortensem are additions; sil. inc.
 by T col 213 and A p 213; passages not in H.

fol 113^V

s.a. 1087 Rex Canutus martirizatur
 a marginal heading; ignored by the
 three editors.

fol 114^R

s.a. 1088 Willelmus in phrase dunholmensis
episcopus Willelmus an interlineation;
 sil. inc. by T col 215, A p 217 and H p 103.

s.a. 1089 obiit lanfrancus cantuariensis
archiepiscopus. Successit anselmus
 a marginal heading; ignored by the editors

Obiit Willelmus rex anglorum. Successit
Willelmus filius eius a footnote; ignored
 by the editors.

fol 115^R

s.a. 1092 The riensis of sceresbyriensis
 an addition; sil. inc. by T col 217 and
 A p 219; passage not in H.

Obiit remigius lincoliensis episcopus
 a marginal heading; ignored by the editors.

illis interlined; sil. inc. by T col
 218, A p 220; passage not in H,

fol 115^V

s.a. 1093 scottorum interlined; sil.
 inc. by T col 218 and A p 220; passage
 not in H.

The tun of Seteringtun interlined; sil.
 inc. by T col 218, A p 221 and H p 104.

Duo soles in celo uisi sunt longe a se
inuicem distantes a marginal note; ignored
 by T, A and H. This is in the hand
 responsible for most of the marginal notes.
 The same note appears in a different,
 almost certainly later, hand on fol 116^R
 and is printed in large type in A p 223.

Malcolmus rex scottorum in northymbria
occisus est; ignored by T and A; noted
 by H p 104.

- fol 116^r Duo soles ... distantes an addition;
see above.
- fol 116^v s.a. 1094 filium Malcolmi interlined
above Dunecan; ignored by T col 220
and A p 224; passage not in H.
- fol 117^r s.a. 1096 quod suaserat added over
erasure; sil. inc. by T col 222 and
A p 227; passage not in H.
- fol 117^r hoc tempore profectus est christianorum
exeritus ad jerusalem contra paganos
a marginal note; ignored by T, A and H.
- fol 117^v s.a. 1097 Cisterciense cenobium sumpsit
exordium an addition; sil. inc. by
T col 223; noted by A p 228 and H p 105.
- s.a. 1098 sberia of scrobberia
interlined; sil. inc. by T col 223 and
A p 228; passage not in H.
- fol 118^r in qua interlined; sil. inc. by T col
223 and A p 229; passage not in H.
- s.a. 1099 ecclesie added over erasure;
sil. inc. by T col 224 and A p 229;
passage not in H.
- Jerusalem a christianis capta est;
Urbanus papa obiit; both marginal
headings; both ignored by T, A and H.
- fol 118^v s.a. 1100 Occisus est Willelmus iunior
rex anglorum. Successit henricus frater
eius, leo iusticie; ignored by the
editors.
- fol 119^r s.a. 1101 Henricus rex tenuit curiam
suam lundonie in natiuitate domini, ubi
interfuit ludouicus electus rex francorum; a footnote
sil. inc. by T col 226 and H p 105;
noted by A p 232; this note does not,
incidentally, seem to me to be in the
text hand, as Arnold thought.

obiit godefridus rex ierosolomorum
a marginal heading; ignored by T, A and H.

fol 119^v

s.a. 1102 Unde an addition over erasure;
sil. inc. by T col 228, A p 235 and
H p 105.

Prefatus added over erasure; sil. inc.
by T col 228 and A p 235; passage not in H.

fol 120^r

s.a. 1103 tenuit interlined, probably
in text hand; sil. inc. by T col 228
and A p 236; passage not in H.

s.a. 1105 tradiderunt added over erasure;
sil. inc. by T col 229 and A p 237;
passage not in H.

fol 120^v

s.a. 1106 autem interlined; silm inc.
by T col 229 and A p 237; passage not in H.

Due lune in celo vise sunt utraque plena
a marginal heading; ignored by T, A and H.

obiit imperator henricus successit filius
eius henricus a marginal heading; ignored
by T and A; noted by H p 106.

Hoc anno captus est normannie comes a
marginal heading; ignored by T, A and H.

s.a. 1107 obiit eadgarus rex scottorum.
successit alexander frater eius in margin; ignored
by the editors.

fol 121^r

s.a. 1108 Obiit gerardus eboracensis
archiepiscopus. successit thomas
secundus;
Obiit phillippus rex francorum. ludouicus
successit; both marginal headings; both
ignored by A, T and H.

Due lune in celo vise sunt utraque plena;
obiit imperator henricus. successit filius
eius henricus; both marginal headings in a
thirteenth-century hand; both ignored
by T, A and H.

fol 122^r

s.a. 1111 tridentius interlined; sil.
inc. by T col 233 and A p 242; passage not
in H.

s.a. 1110 et misit eam a dovere usque ad witsand
initio quadragesimae quod fuit iiii
idus aprilis a footnote, referring back to
fol 121^v; sil. inc. by T col 232, A p 241
and H p 106.

s.a. 1111 apostolorum petri et pauli
an addition over erasure; sil. inc. by
T col 233, A p 243; passage not in H.

Item gregorius cardinalis sancti crisogoni
Johannes cardinalis sancte potentiane,
Risus cardinalis sancti Laurentii,
Reinerus cardinalis sanctorum marcellini
et petri a marginal addition -
perhaps in text hand; sil. inc. by
T col 233 and A p 243; passage not in H.

fol 122^v

obiit balduinus comes flandrensis.
successit filius eius balduinus; ignored
by T, A and H.

s.a. 1112 idem qui super interlined
above pape paschalis; ignored by T col
235 and A p 245; passage not in H.

s.a. 1113 Monachi tironenses in terra
david regis scocie apud Seleschirche
venerunt; et ibi per annos xv manserunt;
this appears at the foot of
the second column, without any sign on
fol 122^v to indicate where it belongs;
noted by A p 247 and H p 107; sil. inc.
by T col 236.¹

¹ See G.W.S. Barrow, 'Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians',
in The Kingdom of the Scots (London 1973) pp 188-211,
at pp 200-1.

fol 123^r

Monachi tironenses in Angliam venerunt
x annos antequam sauinienses venerunt
in Angliam; this appears at the foot of
 the first column and is perhaps in the
 same hand as the note on the Tironensians
 in fol 122^v; sil. inc. by T col 236;
 noted by A p 247 and H p 107; A and H
 both run these two notes together and
 place them in the wrong order, and both
 are misleading on where exactly the
 notes occur.

s.a. 1114 obiit secundus Thomas eboracensis
archiepiscopus post quem Turstinus eligitur;
 ignored by T and A; noted by H p 107.

s.a. 1115 ecclesie episcopus Wilfridus
 an addition over erasure; sil. inc. by
 T col 236 and A p 249; passage not in H.

fol 124^r

s.a. 1118 obiit paschalis papa and
obiit matildis regina both marginal
 headings; both ignored by T, A and H.

s.a. 1119 obiit gelasius papa; ignored
 by T and A; noted by H p 110.

suum a marginal addition; sil. inc. by
 T col 240, A p 254 and H p 110.

hic consecratus est turstinus eboracensis
archiepiscopus a marginal note; ignored by
 T and A; noted by H p 110.

fol 125^r

cum interlined by text hand before de carne;
 sil. inc. by T col 241, A p 256 and H p 112.

fol 125^v

s.a. 1120 The c of mcxx interlined in
 text hand.

Filii regis H. in mare perierunt a marginal
 note; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 114.

sorore interlined; sil. inc. by T col 242,
 A p 259 and H p 114.

fol 126^r

s.a. 1121 nutrire ... Eadmundo added over
 erasure; sil. inc. by T col 242, A p 259 and
 H p 114.

ipsius, comitis interlined; sil. inc. by T col 243, A p 261 and H p 115.

fol 126^V asserenda interlined; sil. inc. by T col 244, A p 262 and H p 116.

fol 127^R regi anglorum placato reconciliatur
moxque exercitus domum remittitur added over erasure; sil. inc. by T col 245 and A p 264; noted by H p 117.

s.a. 1122 In vigilia natalis domini ventus validis et insolitus non solum domos sed etiam turres deiecit lapideas a footnote; sil. inc. by T col 245; noted by A p 264 and H p 117.

exceptis interlined; sil. inc. by T col 246, A p 265 and H p 118.

in omnibus, in, Petri all interlined; all sil. inc. by T col 246, A p 266 and H p 119.

fol 127^V obiit radulphus cantuariensis archiepiscopus a marginal note; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 119.

s.a. 1123 uxorem interlined; sil. inc. by T col 247, A p 267 and H p 120.

fol 128^R Stephanus comes bononicensis postea rex anglie dedit abbati Gaufrido Savinniensi uillam scilicet Tulket in provincia que vocatur Agmundernes, super ripam fluminis Ribble ad abbatiam construendam ordinis sui, tempore Kalixti pape et ibi fere per tres annos permanserunt a footnote referring back to the start of the annal on fol 127^V; sil. inc. by T col 247; noted by A p 267 and H p 120.

obiit radulphus cantuariensis archiepiscopus a marginal note in a thirteenth-century hand; ignored by the editors.

¹ See Barrow, Kingdom pp 200-1; this note is in the same hand as notes on the Tironensians on fols 122 & 123.

The udines of necessitudines added over erasure; sil. inc. by T col 248, A p 270 and H p 122.

fol 128^V obiit Alexander rex scotie. successit david frater eius a marginal note; ignored by the editors.

degeneratam que added over erasure; sil. inc. by T col 250, A p 273 and H p 123.

fol 129^V s.a. 1124 suam interlined; sil. inc. by T col 251, A p 275 and H p 125.

uisio de Honorio deest a marginal note; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 125.

Obiit henricus imperator, successit lotharius dux saxonum; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 125.

fol 130^r s.a. 1125 vel uigilantes interlined above evocantes; ignored by T, A and H.

s.a. 1126 obiit calixtus papa in margin; ignored by T, A and H.

fol 130^V auctoritate et interlined; sil. inc. by T col 253, A p 279 and H p 128.

archidiaconatus aut in margin, perhaps in text hand; ignored by T and A; sil. inc. by H p 129.

s.a. 1127 The ii of mcxxvii is a later addition.

s.a. 1128 Mutata est abbatia de Selechirche ad kelchou iuxta Rochesburc, et fundata est ecclesia sancte Marie predictis monachis Tironensibus, ubi eam pius rex David magnis muneribus ditavit, multis ornamentis ornavit, prediis et possessionibus amplis nobiliter dotavit a footnote; sil. inc. by T col 254; noted by A p 281 and H p 130.

fol 131^r obiit Willelmus comes flandrensis a marginal heading; ignored by T and A; noted by H p 131.

Theodoro, lineam affinitatis ducenti excomitibus flandrensium
a marginal addition; sil. inc. by T col 256 and A p 2 3;
noted by H p 131.

fol 131^V antifrasis, roma both in margin; both ignored by the editors.

Apart from their obvious value in the establishment of an accurate text of HR, these additions to MS 139 have other implications. Their variety and quantity indicate an overriding concern by about a dozen late twelfth and early thirteenth-century annotators to correct the HR as well as the many other pieces in MS 139 which show this process. A great number of the additions, particularly those in the hand designated by Dumville C⁷, ¹ are of specifically Durham interest, a fact of some significance in the question of origin both of the HR and of the manuscript. Durham notes in this hand appear s.a. 737, 781, 803, 830, 846, 891 (mistakenly for 819), 913, 948, (mistakenly for 968), 1018, 1042, and 1059. Other hands have notes on Durham bishops s.a. 995 and 1075. Blair noted that information on the Durham bishops in the text of HR for the tenth and eleventh centuries.

¹ Only C⁷, a hand not readily mistaken, can be identified with certainty with the hands shown by Dumville (pp 374-6) to have been at work on the Historia Brittonum. The marginal headings are mostly in one hand, similar to Dumville's C⁸.

has been derived from an independent, presumably Durham, source, as may be seen from the entries relating to Aldred in 968, Aldhun in 1018, Eadmund in 1020 and 1042, Edred in 1042 and Egelric in 1043. In the light of this evidence there can be no doubt that these northern interpolations were the work of a Durham writer, and that therefore section 8 as a whole can be confidently regarded as a Durham work without taking into account the authenticity of the rubrics ascribing the Historia Regum to Symeon himself.¹

Blair was inclined to dismiss the view that the HR was influenced by Hexham. Offler, however, demonstrated that

There are still good grounds for believing that the text of HR was considerably rehandled and interpolated at Hexham, and that its presence there supplied the impulse for John of Hexham to compose his continuation of it. 2

The two arguments do not seem to be mutually exclusive. Perhaps we should think of the HR as having a Durham overlay on the material from the Worcester chronicle (suggested by Blair),³ then a Hexham overlay (suggested by Offler), then, with the marginal additions noted immediately above another Durham overlay not properly noted before. Offler suggested that

If there is a specific Sawley contribution to [CCCC 139], it is probably to be sought in the various marginal additions and alterations made to the manuscript by hands later than that of the text, and also in the element of confusion caused by mistaken tampering with dates which were originally written correctly. 4

While this may possibly be true for some of the additions, and in time the required full study of the marginalia throughout the manu-

¹ Blair p 110.

² Offler, 'Historia Regum' p 54.

³ Seen for example, in the way Aldwin's name was added to the Worcester chronicle's list of obits s.a. 1087.

⁴ Offler, 'Historia Regum' p 56.

script may show it to be so, it cannot in all probability be true of those of Durham interest. If these were added in Durham itself, then by implication another section of CCCC 139 may be seen as having a Durham origin. Like the last section of CCCC 139 (gatherings XXI-XXII; fols 168-82), the section containing the HR (gatherings VII-XV; fols 54-131) may have served as rough copy for what was kept in Durham as a fair copy, though one no longer extant. Certainly there are occasional mistakes in the Durham notes which might argue against this view, but it is difficult to think in what other house there would have been such interest in recording the notes at all.¹ Neither this view, however, nor Offler's suggestion about Sawley, explains the origin of such curiosities as the notes of Tironensian interest on fols 122^v and 123^r.

One odd feature of the interlineations is that some, though not all, appear in the text of the Historia post Bedam, written in Durham soon after 1148,² and thus in the chronicle of Roger of Hoveden. As a representative sample, here is a list of the corrections, additions and alternative readings in CCCC 139 up to the year 802 which appear in the texts of the Historia post Bedam and Roger of Hoveden. At least three hands were responsible.

fol 63 ^r	s.a. 740	<u>servant</u> , in Roger of Hoveden p 6.
fol 64 ^r	s.a. 745	<u>episcopus</u> , <u>ibid</u> .

¹ See above pp 115-9.

² Offler, 'Historia Regum' pp 54, 61 n 33.

fol 64^v s.a. 756 illuminatam, ibid p 7.

fol 65^r s.a. 762 Novembris in Cateracta, ibid.

fol 65^v s.a. 772 viris, ibid p 9;

s.a. 773 beverlacensis diem, ibid.

fol 67^r s.a. 783 quintus, ibid p 11.

fol 67^v s.a. 788 iustus, ibid p 12.

s.a. 790 sancto, ibid p 12.

fol 68^r s.a. 793 Quibus recte illud aptari
potest, ibid p 14.

s.a. 794 quippe, ibid p 14.

fol 68^v s.a. 795 fortissimus; quodque, ibid p 15.

s.a. 796 potentissimus, ibid.

s.a. 797 Hagustaldensis, ibid.

fol 69^r s.a. 798 principalibus et ecclesiasticis;
scribitur, ibid pp 16, 17.

fol 70^r s.a. 801 pars, ibid p 18.

fol 70^v s.a. 802 matrimonium; valde

amabilis; necare; et carus; extinxit; scelere;

velis; parvo tempore; venefica illa nequissima

perterrita; execrabilis et; nequiter et; nequius;

miserabilius et; et angore; potentissimus;

Erat enim strenuissimus vir et potens, multaque

regna suo subiecit imperio. Regnavit ...

xxxvi annis; sue novili conjuge ... filios quatuor

... scilicet Ethelbald, Ethelbricth, Ethelred

et Alfred, qui omnes sibi invicem in regnum

successerunt, ibid p 19.

As MS 139 is later than the two earliest surviving Historia post Bedam manuscripts, St John's College Oxford 97 and BL Royal 13.A.vi, both dating from the mid twelfth century, it could not have acted as an exemplar.

The Historia post Bedam was clearly using a source common to MS 139; in some cases interlineations in 139 appear in a changed word order in the Historia post Bedam. Examples of this are nepos eius (s.a. 788),¹ pravis (s.a. 793),² and atque clericorum (s.a. 798).³ The interlineations which appear in Hoveden can perhaps best be explained as another layer of correction to 139 shortly after the Historia post Bedam had become established as the standard Durham twelfth-century history.⁴

¹ Roger of Hoveden p 12.

² ibid p 14.

³ ibid p 16.

⁴ Offler, Medieval Historians p 10.

Introduction

In the light of the highly confused state of the text in CCCC 139, it is perhaps surprising that in the standard view the somewhat haphazard collection of materials which makes up HR was subject to abbreviation in 1131/2 (surviving in Liège University Library 369 C and in BL Cotton Caligula A.viii). Accepted wisdom on this question goes back to Hardy, is derived from knowledge only of Caligula A.viii, and holds that these annals were a later abbreviation made from a source common to CCCC 139.¹ Hinde and Arnold both accepted this,² and so did Offler, who followed Hinde's date for the work.³ In the annal for 1074, abbot Geoffrey of St Mary's York is referred to as in presenti.⁴ Offler thus agreed with the date 1131/2, since, according to the fourteenth-century Chronicle of St Mary's York, Geoffrey died in 1132 after becoming abbot the previous year.⁵ Offler felt that these annals formed an 'empty abridgement' apart from the additional information they contain on the invasion of 1101, which was led by Robert Curthose and bishop Ranulf Flambard of Durham. Hollister agreed that the annals in Caligula are 'a condensed version of Simeon of Durham's Historia Regum with certain valuable additions', and he made

¹ Hardy 2 p 176. ² Hinde p xxi; Arnold II p 365 n.

³ Offler, Medieval Historians pp 11, 21-2 n 22. ⁴ See below p 234.

⁵ The Chronicle of St Mary's Abbey, York, SS 148 (1934) p 1.

extensive use of the entry for 1101.¹

The date 1124 x 1128 argued above for Liège University Library MS 369 C, which contains annals differing from Caligula A.viii only in the occasional word order or spelling, indicates that chronological priority rests not with the 'Historia Regum' as it appears in CCCC 139 but with the chronicle in these two other manuscripts. It should be noted that Caligula A.viii is perhaps, like the Liège manuscript, also earlier than, or at least contemporary with, CCCC 139, a fact on which Hinde commented but which has since been disregarded.² A date in the 1120s is consistent with what dates can be established with certainty for abbot Geoffrey of St Mary's York and abbot Nicholas of Whitby, both of whom are said to be in presenti.³ The Chronicle of St Mary's York, used by Hinde and Offler, is not reliable, and is contradicted by evidence that Geoffrey was abbot of St Mary's in 1122 and 1128, and was still abbot after the foundation of Fountains in 1132. Nicholas of Whitby occurs Dec 9, 1128, and c 1130 x 1139.⁴

Hollister's observation that the date given in these annals for the Portsmouth landing matches the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

¹ C. Warren Hollister, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil war: 1101', EHR 88 (1973) pp 315-34. Hollister was mistaken in thinking himself the first to make use of Caligula A. viii's information on 1101. The heading Hollister used before the entry for 1101 from Caligula is not a rubric but the Cotton Catalogue title of 1801 which followed the seventeenth-century hand on fol 28r and credited Symeon.

² Hinde p xxxi.

³ Liège U.L. 369 C fol 95v.

⁴ for details, see HRH pp 78, 84. The papal bull by which HRH dated an occurrence of Nicholas to 1125 has been redated 1128; see Denis Bethell, 'William of Corbeil and the Canterbury York dispute', JEH 19 (1968) pp 145-59, at p 157.

but not the Worcester chronicle, Henry of Huntingdon or William of Malmesbury and is probably correct seems confirmation of an early date of composition.¹ A date prior to that of the text in CCCC 139 is suggested also by reference to the tract De Iniusta Vexacione. In the HR s.a. 1088, CCCC 139 fol 114^r refers to this libellus on bishop William of St Carilef.² The annal in the Liège and Caligula manuscripts for 1088, while disguising the fact of Carilef's expulsion in language customary in a Durham writer, makes no reference to a libellus.³ Offler's suggestion that the De Iniusta Vexacione was written after 1125⁴ comes within the dating span argued above for the Liège manuscript. Perhaps the libellus on Carilef had not yet appeared by the time the Liège annals were written.

The view that the Liège and Caligula annals predate those in CCCC 139 is not without its difficulties. Dr Martin Brett has suggested to me that the shorter annals must be, as traditionally thought, an abbreviation derived from a source common to CCCC 139. He deduces this from the reference in Liège U.L. 369 C fol 95^v, where the text s.a. 1080 notes the death of bishop Walcher of Durham, then adds Ob quorum detestande necis

¹Hollister p 326.

²Arnold II p 217.

³Illis etiam diebus, Willelmus episcopus dunelmensis de anglia exiuit (Liège U.L. 369 C fol 96v).

⁴H.S. Offler, 'The Tractate De Iniusta Vexacione Willelmi Episcopi Primi', EHR 66 (1951) pp 321-41, at p 340. Here I agree with Offler that the De Iniusta Vexacione is not, as it claims, a document of 1088. R.W. Southern, St Anselm and his biographer (Cambridge 1953) pp 147-50, and Margaret Gibson Lanfranc of Bec (Oxford 1978) pp 220-1 have expressed disagreement with Offler.

Quorum is of course ungrammatical here, and was changed by Caligula A.viii fol 38^r to cuius, but was correct for CCCO 157 p 352 and CCCC 139 fol 112^v, where Walcher's companion's are also described.¹ Similarly, in Liège U.L. 369 V fol 96^r the text s.a. 1085 reads Rex Willelmus tribus suis capellanis ... dedit presulatum. Only two names are mentioned, though three new bishops are named in CCCO 157 p 353 and in CCCC 139 fol 113^r.² Caligula A. viii fol 38^r, Brett argues, recognised the mistake in transcription and changed tribus to duobus. It might however be argued against this that tribus and quorum are simply examples to add to others of scribal carelessness in the Liège manuscript,³ and it may be significant that in the relevant passage in CCCC 139 fol 113^r the phrase Rodberto cestrensem dedit presulatum and the rtdensem of Theodfortdensem are later additions.⁴ It seems too that the text of the Worcester chronicle embedded in the Liège and Caligula annals has in fact been abbreviated, most noticeably, for example, s.a. 1092, where in Liège U.L. 369 C fol 96^v the account of king William and his brother Robert making peace, fighting king Malcolm of Scotland and restoring William of St Carilef to his see are all compressed into one sentence against the lengthy account in CCCO 157 pp 356-7. That the Worcester chronicle predates the Liège

¹Arnold II p 210.

²Ibid p 213.

³See below p 230.

⁴See above p 210.

and Caligula annals is shown too s.a. 1087 where the name of prior Aldwin of Durham is included in a list of those recently deceased in Liège U.L. 369 C fol 96^r but not in CCCO 157 p 354. If the text in CCCO 157 were second in date, there seems no reason why Aldwin's name would have been omitted. These arguments do not however mean that the text as a whole in the Liège and Caligula manuscripts is necessarily later than that in CCCO 139. Conclusions about the Worcester chronicle must of course be provisional in the absence of a critical edition,¹ but there does seem to have been time enough for the Worcester chronicle, even in the version incorporating Eadmer's Historia Novorum which was known to Liège, to have reached Durham soon after the incorporation of Eadmer and be incorporated in the Liège manuscript or its exemplar by 1124 x 1128, when the Liège manuscript was written. Thomson has pointed to indications that John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury knew each other, and has noted that the Worcester chronicle contained in Bodley 297 was interpolated from William's Gesta Regum while John and William were still alive.² He apparently suggests, in a forthcoming article, that the two chronicles were circulating and available to each author or sets of authors prior to completion of either work.³ The attractions of his suggestion, perhaps supported

¹See appendix.

²R.M. Thomson, 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury', Revue Bénédictine 85 (1975) pp 362-402, at pp 393-4.

³This information I owe to Dr Brett.

by the fact that the hands of CCCO 157 change after the annals for 1094 and 1110,¹ are firstly that it dispenses with the need to argue the priority of one chronicle over the other,² and also that it provides the means for a copy of the Worcester chronicle, perhaps in a version not going beyond 1119, to have reached Durham soon after 1124. That the Worcester chronicle existed in versions other than that of the main branch (represented by CCCO 157, CCCC 92, Lambeth Palace 42, Bodley 297 and Trinity College Dublin 502) is shown by Trinity College Dublin 503, which contains annals abbreviated from the full chronicle, and is written on fols 37^r-113^v in the hand most probably of John of Worcester himself as far as the year 1122. To the obit of Florence of Worcester s.a. 1118,³ John added hec etiam de ipsa maiori collecta chronicula.⁴ The Worcester annals in the Liège and Caligula manuscripts, different from and shorter than those in Trinity College Dublin 503, may be seen as another set of annals, in earlier circulation, abbreviated from the Worcester chronicle. As the chronicle had been in progress since before the death of bishop Wulfstan, the existence of various versions seems not unlikely.⁵

¹See appendix, below p 276.

²See Vita Wulfstani p xviii n 2.

³See appendix, below p 272.

⁴TCD 503 fol 111^v.

⁵It is difficult to know how correct Orderic Vitalis was in reporting that the Worcester chronicle and similar works were not yet widely circulated in his time; see below p 273.

The value of the Liège and Caligula annals, which cover a section of the HR not of primary interest as a historical source, is essentially that they reveal a stage in the development of the material contained in CCCC 139.¹ Baker has suggested that a subdivision of CCCC 139 may be discerned between fols 78 and 79. Fol 78 is the last of gathering IX. The annals from 732 to 957 end on fol 78^r. The heading Sequitur recapitulatio superiorum de rege elfredo. Deinde successio regum per ordinem, qui et qualiter ad regnum pervenerunt anglorum is on fol 78^r. Instead of this, four brief extracts from the Gesta Regum appear under the rubric De historia Willelmi Malmesbirie. The promised recapitulatio begins on fol 79^r at the start of gathering X. Baker concluded that

It may be that the copyist of MS 139 had before him not a continuous Historia Regum, but a collection of historical materials, one text ending with the annal for 957, another containing the annals, largely derived from Florence of Worcester, which begin with the recapitulatio. As with gathering XIX, fols 160r-163, the Malmesbury extracts may have been added to fill up blank leaves at the end of a gathering and section.

2

The Liège and Caligula annals, in beginning with the genealogy

¹ That the Liège and Caligula annals predate those in CCCC 139 does not, I think, prejudice Todd and Offler's view that the annals up to the year 1129 in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, nouv. acq. lat. 692 are an abridgement of a source common to CCCC 139. In particular, they demonstrated convincingly that the eulogy on archbishop Thurstan of York had probably been in the exemplar used by the Paris manuscript (see above p/23). But much work needs to be done before a final decision can be made on the status of the annals in BN 692.

² Baker, 'MS 139' p 109 n 9.

of king Alfred taken from Asser's Life at the same point as the opening of CCCC 139 gathering X,¹ seem to confirm the view that the copyist in CCCC 139 had at least two separate and overlapping sources. Where the Liège and Caligula annals were weak, between the death of king Alfred and 1066, they were expanded for the text that appears in CCCC 139. The 139 text was perhaps also improved by the discarding of the 'De Primo Saxonum Adventu' in favour of the chronicle from 732 to 957, which had perhaps not been available when the Liège and Caligula annals were being composed. Neither the Liège nor the Caligula manuscript makes a clearcut distinction between the DPSA and the annals which follow it, though the appearance of notes on the kings after Alfred in both pieces,² as well as the separate appearance of the DPSA in manuscripts such as Magdalen College, Oxford 53, shows clearly that they were in fact separate sources. The annals follow the DPSA without a break in each manuscript. In Liège there are no separate rubrics here, but in Caligula both pieces, though not the extract from the Historia Brittonum (fol 28^{r/v}) and the drawing of Woden (fol 29^r), are contained within these rubrics:

Prenotata serie generationum ex quia primi anglici generis reges prodierant, subnotatur qui et ubi et quoto incarnationis³ dominice anno regnauerint post illorum aduentum in brytanniam.

¹ Asser pp 1-2

² See below pp 23/-2; Arnold II pp 372-4.

³ Caligula A. viii fol 29^v.

De primo saxonum uel normannorum adventu siue de eorundem
regibus libellus explicit. 1

The annals as found in the Liège manuscript here follow. They have not previously been printed in full, though Hardy noted where they varied from Twysden's edition, Hinde printed them where he thought appropriate, and Offler and Hollister both printed the account of the 1101 invasion.² Several scribal errors in the Liège manuscript have been retained in this transcription, for example Gastonie for Glastonie (fol 95^v), custodee for custodie (fol 96^r), and Cuniacum for Cluniacum (fol 99^r). Contractions have been expanded throughout.

¹ ibid fol 43^r.

² Hardy 2 p 176; Hinde, passim; Offler, Medieval Historians p 22 n 22; C. Warren Hollister, in EHR 88 (1973) p 334.

(fol 94rd) Anno ab incarnatione domini dccc.xlix. angul saxonum rex aluredus in illa plaga qui nominatur Berrocscira nascitur, cuius genealogia tali serie contexitur. Aluredus rex filius Ethelwulfi regis, qui fuit Ecgberti. Qui fuit Alchmundi. Qui fuit effe. Qui fuit Eoppa. Qui fuit ingels. (fol 94^v) Ingels et ine ille famosus occidentalium rex saxonum germani duo fuerunt. Qui Ine Romam perrexit, ibique uitam praesentem finiens, celestem patriam cum Christo regnaturus adiit. Qui fuerunt filii Coenred. Qui fuit Ceoluuold. Qui fuit Cutha. Qui fuit Cuthuine. Qui fuit Ceaulin. Qui fuit Cunric. Qui fuit Creoda. Qui fuit Cerdic. Qui fuit Elesa. Qui fuit Esla. Qui fuit Geuuis. A quo brytones totam illam gentem Geuuis nominant. Qui fuit Wig. Qui fuit Freawine. Qui fuit Freothegar. Qui fuit Brand. Qui fuit bealdag. Qui fuit Woden. Qui fuit frithewald. Qui fuit frelaf. Qui fuit frithewulf. Qui fuit fringolduulf. Qui fuit Geata. Quem Getam iam dudum pagani pro deo venerabantur. Qui fuit Cetuua. Qui fuit Beau. Qui fuit Scelduua. Qui fuit heremod. Qui fuit Itermod. Qui fuit hathra. Qui fuit Wala. Qui fuit Beaduwig. Qui fuit Seth. Que fuit Noe. Qui fuit Lamech. Qui fuit Matusalem. Qui fuit Enoch. Qui fuit Malaleel. Qui fuit Cainan. Qui fuit Enos. Qui fuit Seth. Qui fuit Adam.¹

AElfredus regnavit xxix annis et mensibus vi.

Post quem regnavit Eadwardus xx iiii annis. Post hunc Ethelstanus

¹The above paragraph is from Asser pp 1-3.

filius eius xvi annis. Huic successit frater eius Eadmundus regnans vi annis et vii mensibus. Postquem frater eius Eadredus regnavit ix annis et vi ebdomadis. Deinde Eadwinus filius Edmundi iii annis et xxx vi ebdomadis. ii diebus minus. Huic succedens frater eius Eadgarus filius Eadmundi regnavit xvi annis et viii ebdomadis. Post hunc regnavit Edwardus filius eius iiii annis. Quo innocenter dolo sue noverte occiso, frater eius Ethelredus regnavit xxx viii annis. Huic successit filius eius Eadmundus ferreum latus et regnavit fere ix menses. Post hunc regnavit Cnut filius Suvein danorum regis fere xix annis. Cui successit haroldus eius exconcubina filius regnans v annis. Postquem hardecnut filius Cnutonis regnavit ii annis xv diebus minus. Post hunc regnavit frater eius Eadwardus xxiii annis. Quo mortuo, haroldus dux filius Goduini comitis in regnum sullimatus regnavit ix menses et xi diebus.

MLXVI ab incarnatione domini anno in regem anglorum sullimatur Willelmus comes normannie haroldo eiusdem gentis rege ab eo occiso ii idus octobris. Cumquo Gyrth et Leowine fratres eius eodem die cum magna mul (fol 95^r) titudine anglorum prosternuntur.

MLxix.

Rodbertus congnoimento cum in cum dcc hominibus suis in dunelmo a Norhumbrensibus occiditur. Unde rex iratus totam depopulatus est Norhumbriam.

MLxx.

Malcolmus rex scottorum cum suis in Norhumbriam veniens, gladio incendioque omnis ad nichilum redegit. Illo anno Lanfrancus in archiepiscopatum provehitur, et ab eo Thomas eboracensis archiepiscopus consecratur, et Ailwinus dunelmensis episcopus a Willelmo

rege captus, et apud abbendoniam in uinculis constitutus vitam
 finiuit, et Walcherus in episcopatum Dunelmensis ecclesie prouehitur.
 M.Lxxi nil memorie dignum.

M.Lxxii

Guillelmo rege ueniente cum exercitu in scotiam, occurrit ei rex
 Malcolmus in loco qui abernith dicitur, et ei humagium fecit.
 Illo anno expulso de comitatu Cospatriæ, Waldeus filius Siwardi
 in comitatu sustollitur. Et dum rex Willelmus de scotia rediret,
 apud Dunelmum castellum condidit, ubi se episcopus Walcherus tute
 ab incursantibus barbaris habere potuisset. Fueruntque sibi
 amicissimi sibique mutuo acclines, Walcherus episcopus et Waldefus
 comes. Unde una cum episcopo et in synodo presbyterorum residens,
 humiliter et obedienter prosequabatur quicquit procorrigena in
 suo comitatu christianitate statutum ab eo fuisset. M.Lxxiii.

In hoc anno omnia iuxta cursum solis et lune habentur sicut in anno
 xv tyberii in quo baptizatus est dominus, id est dies baptismatis viii
 idus januarii die dominico epiphanie, et secundam feria initium
 ieiunii eius xl diebus. A baptizmate itaque domini in anno xv
 Tyberii huc usque sunt reuoluti duo magni cicli, hoc est M.Lx.iiii
 anni. Eodem anno, Willelmus rex ciuitatem que dicitur Cenomannis
 et prouinciam sibi pertinentem cum maximo anglorum adiutorio
 subiugauit.

M.lxxiiii. Tres de prouincia merciorum monachi pauperes spiritu,
 usque ad giruum uenerunt, episcopo Walchero summa cum gratulatione
 illos suscipiente et necessaria largiter prebente. Horum nomina
 Alduinus, Elfuuius, Rein^fridus. Ex his tribus tria in regione
 Northanhymbrorum instaurata sunt (fol 95^v) monasteria. Unum

dunelmi in quo beati patris Cuthberti incorruptum corpus quiescit. Aliud eboraci, ubi de ecclesiola factum in honorem beate domini genetricis Marie nobile cenobium primum abbatem habuit stephanum, secundum Ricardum. Tercium qui et in presenti Gosfridum. Tercium autem in loco qui Streoneshalch, nunc HWitebi appellatur. Qui locus primum habuit abbatem Willelmum, modo in presenti Nicholaum. Turgotus postea prior iussu Walcheri episcopi habitum monachi ab Alduino apud Weremut suscepit. Eodem anno Comes Rogerus et Comes Radulfus magnam coniurationem plurimis sibi consentientibus contra regem Willelmum fecerunt. Qui postea de Normannia rediens Rogerum in custodiam posuit. Comitem et iam Waldefum licet insontem custodie similiter deputavit. M.Lxxv. Gregorius papa qui et hyldebrandus precepit ut nullus audiret missam coniugati presbyteri. Comes Waldefus iussu Willelmi regis nimis crudeliter et iniuste securi decapitatur et in eodem loco terra obruitur. Postea cum honore ad Cruland deportatur, et in ecclesia honorifice tumulatur. Post quem cura comitatus Northumbrensis Walchero episcopo comittitur.

M.lxxvi.

Swanus rex danorum obiit, cui filius eius haroldus suscessit.

M.lxxvii. Rodbertus regis Willelmi primogenitus patri suo in Normannia non parvam molestiam et anxietatem intulit. M.lxxviii. Nichil dignum.

M.Lxxix. Malcolmus rex scottorum totam Norhumbriam usque ad magnum flumen Tine pene devastavit, multos occidit, plures captiuavit, et

cum magna preda rediit. M.lxxx. Walcherus dunelmensis episcopus a Norhumbrensibus occiditur. Ob quorum¹ detestande necis uindictam, rex Willelmus eodem anno uastauit Norhumbriam, misso illuc odone baocensi episcopo cum multa militari manu. Eodem anno, Rodbertus filius regis Nouum castellum super Tine condidit. Willelmus suscepit episcopatum Dunelmensem v. idus Novembris, sed iiii nonas Januarii a Thoma archiepiscopo consecratur. M.lxxxxi.

Nichil dignum. M.lxxxii. Rex Willelmus odonem fratrem suum baiocensem episcopum Normannie in custodia posuit. M.lxxxiii.

Seditio nefanda inter monachos et indigne nominandum abbatem Turstinum Gastonie ob mutatione cantus facta est.

(fol 96^r) Monachi in dunelmum conuenerunt iubente Willelmo rege maiore, vii kalendas iunii, feria vi. Regina matildis iiii Nonas Novembris, feria v. discessit in Normannia. M.lxxxiiii. Rex anglorum Willelmus de una quaque hida per angliam vi. solidis accepit.

M.lxxxv. Rex Willelmus tribus² suis capellanis Mauricio scilicet lundoniensem Willelmo Tedfordensem, dedit presulatum. M.lxxxvi.

Rex Willelmus fecit describi omnem angliam quantum terre quisque baronum suorum possidebat, quot feudatos milites, quot carrucas, quot uillanos et longitudinem et latitudinem siluarum, et pratarum, et quot animalia immo quantum uiue pecunie quisque possidebat in omni regno suo a maximo usque ad minimum, et quantum redditus queque possessio reddere poterat et uexata est terra multis cladibus inde

¹cuius (Caligula A. viii fol 38^r).

²duobus (Caligula A. viii fol 38^r).

procedentibus. Eodem anno animalium pestis et magna extitit auris intemperies. In ebdomada pentecostes apud Westmonasterium ipse rex filium suum henricum armis militaribus honoravit.

M.lxxxvii. Reliquie sancti Nicholai de myrrea transferuntur in barensem ciuitatem. Dani dominum suum regem Cnutum in quadam ecclesia martyrauerunt. Cicestrensis episcopus Stigandus, abbas sancti augustini Scotlandus, abbas Bathoniensis alsius, et abbas personensis Turstinus, Aldwinus prior dunelmensis decesserunt. Willelmus rex ante assumptionem sanctae Marie in francia cum exercitu uenit, et oppidum quot Mathuntium nuncupatur omnesque ecclesias in eo sitas duosque reclusos igne succendit, indeque in Normanniam rediit. Sed in ipso reditu dirus uiscerum dolor illum apprehendit, et magis ac magis de die in diem morbus eum grauabat. Et cum diem mortis sibi imminere sensisset, fratrem suum odonem baiocensem episcopum, et comites Morkarum et Rogerum et Siwardum Cognomento bara, et Wlnothum regis haroldi germanum quem a pueritia tenuerat in custodia, et omnes quos uel in anglia uel in Normannia custodiae manciparat laxauit. Dein filio suo Willelmo regnum tradidit anglie, et Rodberto filio suo primogenito concessit Normanniam, et sic uita decessit v iduum Septembrium die, et cadomi in ecclesia sancti Stephani prothomartiris sepultus est postquam xx annis, mensibus x, et xxviii diebus genti anglorum prefuit. Willelmus iunior in angliam ueniens, Morkarum et Wulnothum Wintonie custodee mancipauit. Rodbertus illos quos in Normannia in custodia inuenit, Ulf scilicet quondam regis haroldi filium, Dunecaldumque regem scottorum Malcolmi filium (fol 96^v) a custodia laxatos, armis militaribus honoratos abire permisit.

M.lxxx.viii. Odo baiocensis episcopus et Gosfridus constantientis et Rodbertus comes Mortuensis et Rogerus comes Sceropesberiensis, et Rodbertus de mulbreio et Rogerus bigod insurrexerunt contra regem Willelmum. Sed et eustachius iuuenis bononiensis et multi alii.

Hos omnes contra se machinantes, ex anglia idem rex expulit. Illis etiam diebus, Willelmus episcopus dunelmensis de anglia exiuit.

M.Lxxxix. Lanfrancus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus obiit. Eodem anno iii idus augusti terre motus permaximus per angliam extitit.

M.xc. Willelmus rex anglie Rodberto fratri suo Normanniam adimere, et sue ditioni eam cupiens subiugare, tria castella sibi pecunia conduxit scilicet sanctum Walericum, et albemarle, et quoddam aliud in quibus suos milites posuit, ut Normanniam deuastarent. M.xci.

Willelmus rex Normanniam petiit, ut eam Roberto fratri suo abriperet. Sed dum ibi aliquandiu moraretur, huiusmodi inter eos facta est concordia, quod comes regi comitatum de ouu concederet, et fescamnum, et abbatiam in monte sancti Michaelis positam, et keresburch, et alia castella que a se defecerant concederet. Eodem anno rex Willelmus et Robertus frater eius in angliam pacificati uenientes, et contra Malcolmum regem cum ualida manu pergentes episcopum dunelmensem sedi sue restituit, ipso post iii annos die quo eam reliquit, scilicet iii idus Septembris. M.xcii. Antistes remigius lincoliensis obiit.

Rex ciuitatem Carleaf restaurauit, que a Danis paganis ante cc annos diruta et usta ad id tempus mansit deserta. M.xciii. Willelmus

rex magna infirmitate percussus Glauoniam adiit, ibique pertotam xl languosus iacuit. Anselmo beccensi abbati archiepiscopatum Cantuarie, et Rodberto bloiet lincolensem dedit presulatum. Eo anno ecclesia noua dunelmi est incepta iii idus augusti feria v episcopo

Willelmo et Malcolmo rege Scottorum, et Turgoto priore ipso die primos ponentibus in fundamento lapides. Eodem anno Rogerus comes Seropesberiensis et Wido abbas de sancto agustino, et Paulus abbas sancti albani decesserunt. Rex etiam scottorum Malcolmus et Eadwardus filius eius cum multis aliis die sancti Bricii a militibus Rodberti Norhumbrorum comitis occisi sunt. Quo audito Margarita regina, decidit pre dolore in egritudinem, et tertia die uitam finiuit. Eodem anno convenientibus totius anglie episcopis, in quibus Tomas eboracensis archiepiscopus primatum tenebat. Anselmum abbatem beccensem ii nonas decembris (fol 97^r) consecrauerunt antistitem. Scotti regem suum Dunechanum peremerunt et Douenaldum sibi regem constituerunt. M.xcv. Uir uenerabilis Wulstanus episcopus Wigornensis die mensis ianuarii xviii e seculo migravit, anno a primo seculi die certa scripture ratione diuine V.cc.xc.ix noni magni anni, quingentesimo xx.ix noni uero magni anni, ab initio seculi cccc.lxx.vi a passione domini secundum euangelium. M.lx.vi. Secundum Dionisium. M.lxi. Ab aduentu anglorum in brytannia. dcc.lx.v Ab aduentu sancti augustini cccc.xc.viii. A transitu sancti oswaldi archiepiscopi c.iii. Undecimi magni paschalis cycli xxxii. Decimi uero a capite mundi. d.x. secundi solaris cycli iiii. bissextilis cycli iii, Secundi decennoualis cycli xiii, secundi lunaris cycli x, Endecadis v, indictionatis cycli iii, lustra sue etatis xviii. sui uero pontificatus septimi lustris anno iii. Eodem anno Rodbertus herefordensis episcopus obiit. Rodbertus comes Northumbrensis in ecclesia de Tinemutha fugiens captus est, et in custodia regis positus. M.xcvi. Willelmus dunelmensis episcopus

apud Windresoram iiii Nonas Januarii feria v obiit, set dunelmi
est sepultus, xvii kalendas februarii. Willelmi de ouu in duellio
uicti oculos eruere, et testiculos abscidere, et dapiferum illius
Willelmi de aldri filium amitte illi traditionis concium iussit
rex suspendi.. His diebus uenit Urbanus papa in galliam, et apud
clarum montem synodum tenens, hortatus est christianos ad debellandos
paganos proficisci. Cuius hortatu quam plurimi cruce Christi
signati, ad illud iter aggrediendum separauerunt. Quorum duces
et primates extiterunt, Podiensis episcopus Comes sancti egidii
Rainmundus, Petrus monachus, Hugo magnus philippi francorum regis
germanus, dux lothariensis Godefridus, Carnotensis comes stephanus,
Rodbertus comes Normannorum, Rodbertus comes flandrensis, duo germani
Godefridi ducis, Eustachius comes bononiensis, et Balduvinus, et
Boamundus Rodberti Wiscardi filius. Mxcvii. Eadgarus filius
Malcolmi regis expulso Duuenaldo patruo suo de regno, rex scottorum
factus est. Abbas sancti Eadmundi Balduvinus obiit. M.xcviii.
Wintoniensis episcopus Walchelius iiii nonas Januarii obiit. Willel-
mus rex Cinomannensem ciuitatem sue ditioni subegit. Comes hugo
Serpaeberiensis in angleseye quendam presbyterum religiosum Cunredum
a quo Walani consilium habebant de ecclesia in qua fuerat extraxerunt,
et testiculis abscisis et uno oculo eruto, linguam illi abscidi
praecepit, sed die tertia diuina miseratione illi reddita est loquela.
Qui Comes die (fol 97^v) vii quo crudelitatem illam in presbyterum
exercuerat a magno rege Norreganorum filio olau in ipsa insula
angleseye sagitta percussus interiit. Antiochia a Christianis iiii
Nonas junii feria iiii capta est. In qua post paucos dies reuelante
sancto andrea in ecclesia sancti petri lancea qua mundi salvator

uulneratus fuit inuenta est. Cuius inuentione Christiani animati
 iiii kalendas Julii feria ii secum illam deferentes de ciuitate
 exierunt, et cum paganis proelio comisso. Curbaram principem
 militie solidam perside, et turcas et arabas, sarracenos, publicanos,
 azimatas, persas, angulanos, et multas alias gentes fugarunt et
 occiderunt. M.xcix.

Rex Willelmus dedit Rannulfo dunelmensem episcopatum in festiuitate
 pentecosten lundonie. Qui in ipsa festiuitate a Thoma eboracensi
 archiepiscopo consecratur, Idus Julii feria vi. Jerusalem a chris-
 tianis capta est, et post hec xi kalendas augusti eadem feria Lothar-
 iensis dux Godefridus ab omni exercitu in regem est electus. Urbanus
 papa iiii kalendas augusti feria v obiit. Mc.¹ iiii Nonas augusti,
 feria v, indiccione viii, Willelmus dum in noua foresta que lingua
 anglorum Ytene nuncupatur uenatu fuisset occupatus, a quodam franco
 Waltero cognomento tyrello sagitta percussus uitam finiuit. Et
 Wintoniam delatus, in ueteri ecclesia sancti petri est tumulatus.
 Eodem die quo occisus periit, Dorobernensem archiepiscopatum, Winton-
 iensem, et Scaresberiensem presulatem in sua manu tenuit. Regnauit
 idem rex xiii annis xxxviii diebus minus. Huic successit frater eius
 henricus in regnum et mox nonas augusti die dominica in Westmonas-
 terio a mauricio lundoniensi episcopo in regem est consecratus.
 Post hec statim die exaltacionis sancte Crucis cepit idem rex

¹The c is added in a later hand.

Rannulfum dunelmensem episcopum, et posuit eum in custodia in turri lundonie. Die sancti Martini consecrata est Machtildis filia regis scottorum malcolmi in reginam anglorum lundonie ab anselmo archiepiscopo cantuariensis et rex eam in coniugem accepit. Thomas eboracensis archiepiscopus xiii kalendas decembris die dominica obiit. Cui successit herefordensis episcopus Gyrardus. M.ci. Rex anglorum henricus tenuit curiam suam in natale domini apud Westmonasterium. Huic curie interfuit ludouuicus electus rex francorum, et ad mensam sedebat ad dextram regis, inter regem scilicet henricum et Anselmum archiepiscopum. Eodem anno die sequenti post purificationem sancte marie exiuit Rannulfus dunelmensis episcopus de turre lundonie, et ad comitem Rodbertum in Normanniam venit. Ciuitas Glauuornia cum principali monasterio, et aliis (fol 98^r) viii idus Junii feria v incendio consumitur. Eodem anno in estate xiii kalendas augusti applicuit Rodbertus comes Normannie cum nauali exercitu ducens secum Rannulfum dunelmensem episcopum aliosque proceres in loco qui portesmuthe dicitur, ibique in rivaria de Walmesforde figi tentoria precepit. Rex autem eius aduentum apud hastingas expectans, cum comitem uenisse audisset, cum exercitu suo maximo per surreiam venit ad autune, ibique et ipse sua tentoria figi fecit. Ibique mediantibus utrorumque baronibus locuti sunt ad inuicem rex et comes, concordiaque inter eos prolocuta, uenerunt Wintoniam secundo die augusti et ibi sacramenta et affidationes inter eos factam reddite sunt unicuique baronum utrorumque terre quas uel in anglia uel in Normannia tempore dissensionis perdiderant, sicut

prelocutum inter eos ruerat. Eodem anno circa festum omnium sanctorum rediit comes pacifice in Normanniam. M.cii. Rex in festiuitate sancte marie apud Westmonasterium dedit Rogero cancellario suo episcopatum seresberiensem, et Rogero larderario suo pontificatum herefordensem. Ubi etiam anselmus archiepiscopus tenens concilium cum omnibus anglie episcopis, plures abbates et francigenos et anglos quia in honeste se habuerunt deposuit, scilicet Widonem persorensem, Alduinum ramesiensem, et illum de Tauistocce, haimum de cernel, et illum de Micelenei Alricum de Mildeltune, Godricum de burch, Ricardum de Hely, Rodberto de sancto Edmundo. Ibi Rogerus larderarius herefordensi ecclesie electus, infirmitate percussus moritur, et Cancellarius Regine Reinelmus in loco illius subrogatur. Eodem in anno natus est Willelmus filius R. Comitis die sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani in turre rotomagensi. M.ciiii. Corpus sancti patris et presulis sancti Cuthberti incorruptum et flexibile inuentum est, post annos ccccxviii, depositionis sue, et una cum eo caput sancti oswaldi regis et martiris, et reliquie sancti Bede incliti doctoris, aliorumque sanctorum plurimorum. M.cv. Henricus rex anglorum transiens mare, baiocensem ciuitatem cum ecclesia sancte marie que intus erat combussit. Tunc etiam Rodberto fratri suo abstulit Cadomum. M.cvi. Rodbertus comes Normannie ad Tenecehrei Uigilia sancti Michaelis a fratre suo henrico capitur, et cum eo Comes Willelmus de moretonio, Rodbertus de stutewilla, et Willelmus Crispinus et plures allii, et sic ab illo die tota Normannia regi henrico subiecta est. (fol 98^v) M.cvii. Eadgarus rex scottorum vi idus Januarii obiit, cui Alexander frater suus successit.

Turgotus dunelmensis ecclesie prior ad episcopatum scottorum eligitur. Tercio idus augusti ab anselmo archiepiscopo ordinati sunt isti Cantuarie, Willelmus Wintoniensi, Rogerus Salesberiensi, Reinelmus Herefordensi, Willelmus Execestrenis, Urbanus Clamorgatensi ecclesie. Hoc anno Mauricius lundoniensis episcopus, Ricardus Eliensis abbas, Rodbertus abbas de sancto Edmundo, Milo Cryspinus, Rodbertus hamonis, Rogerus bigotus, Ricar de reduers, uita decesserunt. M.cviii.

Hrofensis ecclesie episcopus Gundulfus obiit Nonas martii. Rex anglorum legem constituit, ut fures et latrones suspenderentur.

Monetam quoque corruptam et falsam qui deprehensus fuisset facere, sine ulla redemptione oculos et inferiores corporis partes perderet.

Gerardus Eboracensis archiepiscopus obiit, pro quo Thomas predecessoris sui Thome fratrueis eligitur. Philippus rex francorum obiit, cui ludouicus filius suus successit. M.cix. Dorobernensis archiep-

iscopus anselmus, xi kalendas Mai, feria iiii, obiit Cantuarie, et sequenti die qui fuit cena domini honorifice sepelitur. Thomas

eboracensis archiepiscopus a Ricardo lundoniensi episcopo v kalendas julii consecratur, et post ab Ulrico Cardinali pallium quod sibi papa miserat in kalendis augusti die dominica Eboraci suscepit. Et ipso eodem die Turgotum dunelmensem priorem ad episcopatum sancti-andree de scotia qui dicitur Cenrimunt consecrauit. Eodem anno abbatia

Eliensis in sedem episcopalem mutata est, et Herueum bancornensem episcopum eidem ecclesie prefecit. M.cx. Rex anglorum henricus

filiam suam dedit henrico regi teutonicorum in coniugem. M.cxi.

Henricus rex teutonicorum Romam uenit, paschalem papa cepit, et in

custodiam posuit. Rodbertus comes flandrensis obiit, cui successit filius suus balduinus. M.cxii. Sanson Wigornensis episcopus xxviii Nonas Mai die dominica obiit. Rex henricus comitem Rodbertum debeialesmo in Cheresburcha in custodia posuit. M.cxiii. Ciuitas Wigornia cum principali ecclesia et omnibus aliis et castello xiii kalendas Julii feria v igne cremata est. M.cxiiii. Henrico Romanorum imperatori Mathildis filia Regis anglorum henrici viii idus Ianuarius Magontie desponsata, et in imperatricem est consecrata. Thomas eboracensis archiepiscopus vi kalendas Martii feria iii obiit. Hrofensis ecclesie episcopus (fol 99^r) Radulfus vi kalendas mai die dominica ad archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem apud Windresoram eligitur, et die assumptionis sancte Marie Turstinus regis Capellanus ad Eboracensem archiepiscopatum eligitur Wintonie. Arnulfus abbas de burch ad hrofensem ecclesiam eligitur episcopus. M.cxv. Turgotus quondam dunelmensis ecclesie monachus et prior, tunc autem episcopus scottorum, rediens dunelmum, ibidem uitam finiuit, M.cxvi. Omnes barones tocius anglie apud seresberiam xiiii kalendas Aprilis presente rege henrico Willelmo filio eius humagium fecerunt, et fidelitatem iurauerunt. M.xvii.¹ Aput longobardiam terremotus magnus factus est per dies xl ita ut plurime domus corruerent, et uilla quedam pergrandis mota est, repente de statu proprio, iamque ab omnibus in longe remoto consistere cernitur loco. Mediolani

¹ Scribal error for M.cxvii.

dum patricie dignitatis uiri de re publica tractantes sub una residerent turri, auribus omnium uox foras insonuit unum ex illis nomine uocans, et festinato exire rogans. Quo tardante, persona quedam coram apparuit. Quem uocatum uirum, ut egrederetur prece optinuit. Exeunte illo, turris repente cecidit, et omnes qui ibi aderant casu miserabili oppressit. Rodbertus episcopus cestrensis, et Gillibertus abbas Westmonasterii obierunt. M.cxviii. Paschalis papa xiiii kalendas februarii defungitur, et loco eius iohanes gaitanus substitutes, Gelasius nuncupatur. Machtildis regina anglorum apud Westmonasterium kalendas mai obiit, et in ipso monasterio decenter est sepulta. Comes de mallent Rodbertus moritur. Hoc anno ecclesia quedam in anglia apud Uillam que uocatur Momerfeld a Gosfrido herefordensi episcopo dedicata, omnes qui ad dedicationem conuenerant domum redibant. Uerum post aeris serenitatem que prius extiterat nimia, repente cum tonitruo orta est tempestas nimia qua percussi quidam in itinere, dum loco in quem uenerant cedere non ualerent, subsistebant. Erant numero viii uiri et due femine. Quarum una icto fulminis percussa interiit, altera uero ab umbilico usque pedum uestigia misere percussa et ignita decidit, uiris dum taxat uix uite reservatis. Quinque etiam caballi eorum fulmine percussi interierunt. M.cxix. Gelasius papa apud Cuniacum obiit, ibique sepelitur. In cuius locum cardinales qui aderant, Widonem uienensem archiepiscopum substituunt, eumque Calixtum nominant. Dum hec in burgundia geruntur apostolatus romane ecclesie(fol 99^v) a quodam Gregorio qui et burdun dicebatur administratur. Qui burdun mortuo pascali papa a rege Teutonicorum et imperatore Romanorum exbracarensi episcopo

papa factus est licet antea a paschali papa beneventi fuerit excommunicatus. Illo anno Gosfridus herefordensis episcopus iiii Nonas, et Herebertus Norwicensis xi kalendas eiusdem mensis obierunt. Eodem anno Calyxtus papa xiiii kalendas Nouembris generale concilium instituit. Ibi numerate sunt personarum pastoralium uirge ccccxxiiii. Marie dominici diei precedentis diem prestituti concilii, Turstino contra uoluntatem regis henrici ad benedictionem parato, legati Cantuariensis archiepiscopi calumpniantes eius consecrationem, ab apostolico responsum hoc acceperunt. Nullam inquit iniusticiam ecclesie cantuariensi facere uolumus, sed salva illius dignitate quod proposuimus exequemur. Post dies aliquot dissoluto concilio Calyxtus papa Gysortium uenit. Cui rex henricus ibi occurrit, impetrauitque ab eo ut omnes consuetudines quas pater suus in anglia et in Normannia habuerat, et maxime ut neminem aliquando legati officio in anglia fungi permetteret.

Part 4Influences

In a wider context, what do the manuscripts and texts of the works associated with Symeon of Durham reveal about the position of Durham in the twelfth-century north? In one respect, the evidence suggests that in the twelfth century the libraries of the recently founded Cistercian and other houses were supplemented by manuscripts written in Durham and by manuscripts copied from Durham exemplars. While there is no suggestion in the brief outline essay which follows that the other northern houses came near to cultural dependence on Durham, the dissemination of manuscripts can be seen as an intellectual parallel to the often remarked influence in the architectural sphere of the new cathedral (started 1093), features of which were copied widely: at Selby, Winchester, Peterborough, Romsey, Devizes, Southwell, Lindisfarne, Dunfermline, Waltham, Kirkwall and Duddingston.¹ The outlook of the Durham community was well observed by Dobson:

Constituting the largest, richest and most powerful religious community north of York, the monks of Durham fostered an esprit de corps and a sense of exclusiveness unsurpassed elsewhere in the country. The geographical peculiarities of their site, the absence of any other large Benedictine monasteries north of the Tees, the long distances that separated them from London, Canterbury and even York, above all the intense consciousness of long traditions dating back into the Anglo-Saxon period, persuaded the early fifteenth-century monks of Durham

¹Boase pp 13-24, 149-51: Durham masons were used in Selby and Lindisfarne and perhaps in Kirkwall, though, pace Donald Nicholl, Thurstan, archbishop of York (York 1964) p 19, the sources do not say where the builders came from; see The Orkneyinga Saga, trans and ed A.B. Taylor (Edinburgh & London 1938) p 260. Brooke also compared Rievaulx to Durham 'in plan and scale'; see C.N.L. Brooke and W. Swaan, The Monastic World 1000-1300 (London 1974) p 160.

that their community was sui generis. They were not of course completely mistaken. ¹

As in the fifteenth, so in the twelfth-century community, in which, as Scammell showed, considerable energy was expended on self-aggrandisement:

.... in 1167 Croyland was brought to abandon claims on Edrom, whilst Kelso surrendered Earlston and between 1172 and 1174 there was a vigorous attempt to eject the monks of St Albans from their privileged cell of Tynemouth. At the same time the convent was endeavouring to gain from the bishops of St Andrews liberties identical with those it sought in Durham and Yorkshire: the exemption of its numerous Lothian churches from episcopal exactions, the right to appropriate, and the custody of vacant churches ... The priory, like its bishop ... was jealously defining its rights and possessions in a desire to enjoy a monopoly, spiritual, secular and financial, in as large an area as could be claimed for St Cuthbert. ²

There does appear to have been something close to an imperialist impulse among the Durham monks. The tradition the twelfth-century community followed was arguably that of the eleventh-century sacristan, Elfred Westou, who in a grisly series of expeditions disinterred some of the great figures of Northumbrian ecclesiastical history, left parts of the remains above ground for public veneration, and brought home to Durham relics of the hermits Balther and Bilfrid, the bishops of Hexham Acca and Alchmund,³ of king Oswin and of the abbesses Ebba and Ethilgitha. He reinterred the bodies of Bede and abbot Boisil of Melrose beside St Cuthbert, to whom they had been respectively biographer and spiritual father, and with whom

¹ R.B. Dobson, Durham Priory 1400-1450 (Cambridge 1973) pp 9-10.

² Scammell pp 159-60.

³ See below pp 265-6.

they constituted a formidable relic collection soon to be boasted in verse which had travelled at least as far as Whitby by the end of the next century.¹ The cult of St Cuthbert was of course crucial in Durham's relationship with its neighbours.² Dobson made this clear, though a word of caution may be necessary.³ Dobson seemed to imply an unbroken development of the cult from before the Conquest when devotion to the saint was 'clearly in full spate'⁴ until the end of the twelfth century when Cuthbert became destined 'never to lose his place as one of the most prominent members of the pantheon of English saints'.⁵ The point does not perhaps bear labouring, but there is little evidence that the Benedictines were especially anxious from the outset to promote the cult of St Cuthbert with great vigour, though by 1147 there can be no doubting their reasons for turning away relics of St Guthlac of Crowland.⁶ Colgrave suggested that accounts of the miracles and translations of St Cuthbert were

¹ Arnold I pp 88-9. The De situ Dunelmi is printed in ibid pp 221-2. The De situ Dunelmensis Ecclesiae is entered in the late twelfth century Whitby catalogue printed in Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby, ed J.C. Atkinson, 2 vols SS 69, 72 (1878-9) I p 341. See also H.S. Offler, 'The Date of Durham', Journal of English and Germanic Philology 61 (1962) pp 591-4; F.C. Robinson, 'The Royal Epithet Engle Leo in the Old English Durham poem', MA 37 (1968) pp 249-52.

² For one example see the life of Robert of Newminster (d 1159) in AB 56 (1938) pp 334-60, at p 356.

³ R.B. Dobson, Durham Priory 1400-1450 (Cambridge 1973) pp 14-32.

⁴ Ibid p 26.

⁵ Ibid p 27.

⁶ B. Colgrave, 'St Guthlac of Crowland: a Durham Incident', Durham University Journal ns 15(1953-4) pp 93-5.

not composed till the 1120s.¹ While Colgrave expressed proper qualifications about his dating methods, such a date of composition finds support in Reginald's statement that none of the men who attended the translation in 1104 wrote about it afterwards.² The HDE itself, composed shortly after 1104, was not primarily concerned with St. Cuthbert. Its main themes are outlined above. It was however a book with a propagandist outlook and was read outside as well as inside Durham. It was known at Hexham,³ and perhaps at Selby, where in 1174 the author of the Historia Selebiensis Monasterii was under the mistaken impression that Durham was already a regular community before Selby was founded c 1069.⁴ Coming from the first post-Conquest foundation in the north, here is tribute to the force of Durham propaganda. Durham University Library Cosin's V.ii.6, the earliest manuscript of the HDE, has remained in Durham since it was written, but its early copy, BL Cotton Faustina A.v, went to Fountains around the end of the twelfth century.⁵ The theory

¹ B. Colgrave, 'The Post-Bedan Miracles and Translations of St Cuthbert', The Early Cultures of North West Europe, ed C. Fox and B. Dickins (Cambridge 1950) pp 307-32, at p 329.

² Above p 13.

³ Below p 267.

⁴ The Coucher book of Selby, 2 vols, ed J.T. Fowler, Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, Record Series 10, 13 (1891, 1893) I p [14]; R.B. Dobson 'The First Norman Abbey in Northern England: The Origins of Selby: A Ninth Centenary Article', Ampleforth Journal 74 (1969) pp 161-76, at p 164; idem, Selby Abbey & Town (Leeds 1969) p 13; Claude Hohl 'Une "fille" de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre? L'Abbaye de Selby au diocese d'York', Bulletin Soc. sciences Yonne 106 (Auxerre 1974) pp 31-9. I am very grateful to Dr Dobson for copies of these last two publications.

⁵ Above pp 46-8.

that CUL Ff.1.27, the copy third in date, was actually written in Sawley must now be abandoned,¹ but study of CCCC 139, itself in Sawley by the beginning of the thirteenth century,² reveals the possibility that the HDE was in fact known there about the same time. Among the profuse marginalia of CCCC 139 are several concerning bishops of Durham, written in late twelfth and early thirteenth-century hands beside the text of the HR.³ For example, the text in fol 96^v records bishop Aldun's death before the battle of Carham in 1018, while a footnote places the event after the battle. This is clearly an attempt to conform to the HDE, where Aldun's death is a dramatic result of the loss of Northumbrian lives in the battle.⁴ Similarly, it is recorded in the same hand in fol 98^v that when bishop Edmund died, Edred bought the bishopric - per pecuniam in episcopatum successit - an accusation made in the HDE.⁵

Sawley may perhaps be seen as a representative example of a northern house with a historical outlook conditioned by Durham, though because by chance two of the three books (CUL Ff.1.27, CCCC 66 and 139) thought to have survived from its twelfth-century library

¹ Above pp 80-4.

² See above p 115.

³ See above pp 217-9.

⁴ Arnold I p 84; see Bernard Meehan, 'The siege of Durham, the battle of Carham and the session of Lothian', SHR 55 (1976) pp 1-19, at pp 12-13.

⁵ Arnold I p 91.

contain important Durham texts,¹ the Durham factor may be exaggerated. It has been argued above that CUL Ff.1.27, sections of CCCC 139, as well as Liège University Library MS 369 C, which was owned by Kirkstall, all originated in Durham.² Apart from CCCC 139, other manuscript links are known between Durham and Fountains. A recent study has suggested that a ninth-century Corbie manuscript of Ennodius, Lambeth Palace 325, 'was taken to England and came to rest at Durham Cathedral, where it was copied in the twelfth century producing Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Phill. MS 1715 (Rose 172)',³ a manuscript with a Fountains ex libris.⁴ Of particular interest is an episode in Reginald of Durham's Life of St Godric of Finchale, mundane in its miraculous content, but revealing much about the relationship between the two houses.⁵ The monks of Fountains, having borrowed a copy of the Life from Durham in order to transcribe it, found that the exemplar had not yet been illuminated:

¹ Ker, Medieval Libraries p 177.

² See above pp 80-4, 115-9, 138-42.

³ R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, 'The Florilegium Angelicum: its Origin, Content and Influence', in Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays presented to R.W. Hunt, ed J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford 1976) pp 66-114, at p 83.

⁴ Ker, Medieval Libraries p 88.

⁵ Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitaе de Finchale. Auctore Reginaldo Monacho Dunelmensi, ed J. Stevenson, SS 20 (1845) pp 466-9. I am grateful to Miss Meryl Foster for drawing my attention to this passage.

Fratres de Fontibus Deo devoti vitam Beati Godrici transcribendam de Dunelmensibus perquisierant; cujus exemplar quia nec dum illuminatum fuerat, illud pro ipsius honore et amore coloribus adornare decentius satagebant.¹

The precentor was nominated to undertake this task and set to work with the leaves of the manuscript spread out around him in the chapter-house:

Nempe Sancto Dei devotus se totum ad opera haec illuminanda contulit, et foliis singulis separatim dispersis et divisis undique circa se in loco quo consedere in capitulo consueverat, circumspersit.²

Before long he was called to vespers, during which time a storm blew up and the leaves were scattered and soaked. Unable to return to the chapter-house - quia prae ordinis consuetudine et rigore egredi de conventu non potuit³ - the precentor took refuge in prayer and in sleep. In his sleep he was led to Finchale, where Godric praised his endeavours and repaired the damage:

Vidit vero ibi quasi focum praegrandem accensum, et virum Dei folia praedicta in manibus tenentem et colores madentes ad aestus ignis exsiccantem.⁴

Back home, the precentor, no longer needing to worry De foliis per claustrum circumque dispersis, seu quaternionibus membratim per singula folia separatim,⁵ found the book as the saint had promised:

¹ Ibid p 466.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid p 467.

⁵ Ibid.

omnia folia seriatim aggregata et in quaterniones compaginata
more ordinario ... foliaque singula propriis in locis erant
composita et annexa, et tam littera omnis quam colorum pictura,
sicca, integra, et illaesa.¹

This episode has several points of interest including incidentally its confirmation that the precentor was mostly responsible for illumination but, more unusually, that he might work in the chapter house.² In the context of Cistercian art, consideration might be given to the evidence that, at least according to Reginald, the monks of Fountains were prepared to adorn a manuscript with diversis ... coloribus,³ a detail which caused Reginald to betray no surprise.⁴

Another, though tentative, link between Durham and Fountains may lie in the sealskin binding of the Fountains manuscript CCCO D209, one of only three twelfth-century examples known to Pollard.⁵ It seems just possible that the sealskin could have come from Farne via Durham, though in view of St Cuthbert's rapport with the animals this point should not perhaps be pressed (!).⁶

¹ Ibid p 468.

² Knowles, MO pp 428, 522.

³ Life of Godric p 466.

⁴ See above pp 28-9, 87.

⁵ Graham Pollard, 'Describing Medieval Bookbindings', in Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays presented to R.W. Hunt, ed J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford 1976) pp 50-65, at p 58.

⁶ Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert, ed B. Colgrave (Cambridge 1940) pp 80, 190. Pace Colgrave p 191, seals seem more likely than otters.

Rievaulx too may have obtained manuscripts from Durham. Squire has noted textual connections between the Rievaulx twelfth-century manuscripts now York Minster XVI.1.8 and CCC 86 and the late eleventh-century Durham Dean and Chapter Library MSS B.II.11 (Jeronimus) and B.III.16 (Raban Maur).¹ On a more local level of influence, the thirteenth-century Rievaulx library contained Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica and Vita Sancti Cuthberti, and the de translatione corporis S. Cuthberti by 'Mauricius', probably identifiable as the monk who moved from Durham and became abbot of Rievaulx in 1145.² It may have been at least partly in an attempt to compete with St Cuthbert's growing popularity that Rievaulx promoted the sanctity of abbot William (died 1145) and built a shrine to him in the chapter-house.³ Aelred had roots in Durham. The great-grandson of Elfred Westou, he became an authority on St Cuthbert to be consulted by Reginald of Durham, and remained in close contact with Reginald, with Laurence of Durham and with an

¹ Aelred Squire, 'Historical Factors in the Formation of Aelred of Rievaulx', Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorem 22 (1960) pp 263-83, at p 269. I regret I have not yet had the opportunity of investigating the extent of these connections. Whether York Minster XVI. I. 8 and CCC 86 can be claimed as the work of Durham scribes remains to be seen.

² M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Jesus College, Cambridge (Cambridge 1895) p 48; F.M. Powicke, 'Maurice of Rievaulx', English Historical Review 36 (1921) pp 17-25.

³ J.T. Dickinson, Monastic Life in Medieval England (London 1961) p 75.

unknown Durham scholar.¹ In compiling the Genealogia Regum, Aelred made use of material related to the Historia Regum.² Along with Rievaulx and Fountains, Byland stood among the tria lumina (William of Newburgh's phrase) of the Yorkshire Cistercian houses. So far I have not found anything linking Byland directly with Durham, though the startling lack of early stability in the Byland community may be one reason for this.

Apart from the major Cistercian houses, Durham appears to have supplied other recent northern foundations with manuscripts or exemplars. Durham Dean and Chapter Library B.II.35 fols 36^r-150^r, the copy of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica presented by bishop William of St Carilef, was used several times as an exemplar, producing three extant twelfth-century copies, all of which became the property of other houses: the Augustinian priory of Worksop (BL Harley 4124); Newminster, first daughter of Fountains (BL Add 25014); and Tynemouth (Pembroke College Cambridge 82). Tynemouth had been a cell of St Albans since c 1090, a possession disputed by Durham,⁴ and Pembroke 82, despite initials on fols 5^r, 7^r, 46^r and 97^v, which, in their use

¹ Life of Ailred pp xxxiv-xxxix; Ailred of Rievaulx, De Anima, ed C.H. Talbot, Medieval and Renaissance Studies Suppl I (London 1952) pp 3-9 passim.

² Aelred Squire, Aelred of Rievaulx (London 1969) p 91. Much remains to be done on the relationship between the two chronicles. That Aelred's own work was in its turn known in Durham is shown by Durham Cathedral Library MS B. IV. 25, and perhaps by Bodleian Laud misc 668, which contains both Aelred and Laurence of Durham and which Squire claimed ('Historical Factors' p 266) was a Durham book. He did so on Ker's advice, though Ker saw no reason to include it in Medieval Libraries.

³ Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford 1969) p xlix.

⁴ Offler, Charters pp 30-2, 41-7.

of rough purple and yellow wash, are markedly different from contemporary Durham work, may perhaps have been a gift designed to resolve divided loyalties.¹ Farmer has suggested that University College Oxford 165, the illustrated life of St Cuthbert, one of the most celebrated products of the Durham scriptorium, was written for queen Margaret of Scotland (died 1093), but Malcolm Baker has argued convincingly that stylistic and artistic considerations make it impossible to date this manuscript before 1100.²

The new houses could not match Durham's historiographical and spiritual dominance. In some cases coping with inhospitable sites or inadequate land grants such as forced the communities at Sawley, Byland, Kirkstall and Jervaulx to have moved from their original sites,³ they were often precarious economically, and no doubt glad of gifts, so that when dean Hugh moved from York to Fountains c 1135 it was worth recording that he brought books.⁴ In the early years books were probably scarce. Ker has suggested that the scriptoria of new houses first started functioning about thirty years after the foundation of the house.⁵ For many years there was probably little opportunity for writing of other than essential business. The first foundation history of a new Cistercian house was composed, at Byland,

¹ Durham Dean and Chapter MS B.II.16 is exceptional in also making use of purple wash.

² Kauffmann pp 66-7; I am grateful to Mr Baker for allowing me to read his 'Medieval Illustrations of Bede's Life of St Cuthbert' in typescript; Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 41 (1978).

³ J.C. Dickinson, Monastic Life in Medieval England (London 1961) pp 8-9, and above p 68.

⁴ Baker 'MS 139' p 104.

⁵ Ker, English Manuscripts p 9.

as late as 1197.¹ Time had to pass before a house could build up traditions of its own for historians to draw on. The first products of a new scriptorium are not likely to have been of the highest standard.² For most of the new houses the recommendation that books should match the asceticism of a Cistercian life may well have been superfluous. Rievaulx's daughter-house, Dundrennan (founded 1142), provides one example. When Aelred visited there in 1165, he slept in a badly leaking parua domuncula. At this time, more than twenty years after foundation, 'the abbey had only begun to build its regular offices a short time before', as Walter Daniel reported.³ Without proper quarters for the abbot of the mother-house on his annual visitation, a house like Dundrennan seems unlikely to have had a scriptorium at all.

Nor could York provide close opposition. The literati of St Mary's left and used their gifts against rather than on behalf of the house.⁴ In its position as metropolitan superior York had the respect and allegiance of Durham and was the unchallenged political centre of the archdiocese,⁵ but was handicapped economically. Brett remarked that

the archbishopric of York enjoyed very few of the advantages of Canterbury. Since the Domesday survey of the north is so incomplete, it is impossible to assess her resources accurately; but

¹ Gransden pp 290-4; the Selby foundation history was an exception in being written as early as 1174.

² See above p 87.

³ Life of Ailred p 74. Dundrennan seems to have embarked on a major building programme soon after this; see P. Fergusson, 'The late twelfth century rebuilding at Dundrennan Abbey', Antiquaries Journal 53 (1973) pp 232-43.

⁴ Derek Baker, 'The Foundation of Fountains Abbey', Northern History 4 (1969) pp 29-43, at pp 41-2.

⁵ Donald Nicholl, Thurstan, archbishop of York (York 1964) p 39.

it is unlikely, however, that they amounted to those of a southern see of the second rank, such as Salisbury. Thomas II claimed that Archbishop Gerard had so mortgaged the revenues of the see that ¹ he could scarcely find the money to send a messenger to Rome.

On top of the distractions of the political situation, York's credentials as a cult centre were limited. Failure to guard the remains of the early bishops meant that the relics of Wilfrid, John and Oswald now rested at Ripon, Beverley and Worcester.² It was curious that York had retained no saint of its own to rival those of its suffragan sees.³ Apart from these three there was Ninian at Whithorn, and, above all, in Durham a new cathedral had been built round the relics of Cuthbert and a collection of lesser saints. A Durham forgery of the 1140s or 1150s recognised York's inferiority in this respect. It made archbishop Thomas I of York tell an unlikely tale of a fever lasting two years and causing such debility that medical opinion believed death alone to be the next stage - cum omnes medici solius mortis exitum nobis prominere promitterent. The archbishop sought help at the tomb of St Cuthbert, where he spent a night groaning and weeping, before ^{being} cured by the saint, whose only consultation fee was to request devotion and the discharge from all burdens of everything possessed in his name in the archdiocese - et me sibi in omnibus devotum fore et quecumque in mea diocesi ipse vel sui possessuri

¹ Martin Brett, The English Church under Henry I (Oxford 1975) p 72.

² HCY 2 p vii.

³ Nicholl p 39.

essent ab omni fatigatione secura et libera esse precepit.¹ York's

need for a saint of its own had been thwarted several times.

Aelred claimed that an attempt had been made to bring to York the remains of bishop Eata of Hexham (died 686) and that archbishop Thomas I had led the expedition. The venture foundered when Eata

himself appeared in a vision to archbishop Thomas (who must have grown accustomed to meeting celebrities in his sleep) and laid into him with his pastoral staff, a hagiographical device which Aelred may have borrowed from the HDE.² A more real disappointment had been

archbishop Thurstan's decision to end his life (in 1140) in the Cluniac house at Pontefract,³ but after 1154 the York chapter began

to press the claims to sanctity of William Fitzherbert, eventually canonised in 1226.⁴ Material from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries testifies to the celebration of this event,⁵ and there appear occasional hints of acceptance for York's views on Fitzherbert

in the archdiocese before 1226. In Liège University Library MS 369. C fol 94^r, in an entry to be dated probably sometime before 1189, the late archbishop was termed sanctus. Moreover, the author of the brief historical notes which continue the version of the HR in Bib-

¹ EYC II pp 262-5. For a summary of the actual situation, see Kenneth Emsley, 'The Yorkshire enclaves of the bishops of Durham', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 47 (1975) pp 103-8, at p 103.

² Aelred of Rievaulx, De Sanctis Ecclesiae Haugustaldensis in Raine, Hexham pp lxiv-lx, 202-3, 214-5. This story is perhaps as indicative of Hexham's sense of insecurity as it is of York's. In the HDE, St Cuthbert similarly dissuades Ranulf the tax-gatherer. See Arnold I pp 107-8.

³ Nicholl pp 236-7

⁴ Derek Baker, 'Viri religiosi and the York election dispute', SCH 7 (1971) pp 87-100, at p 97.

⁵ HCY 2 pp 270-91.

liothèque Nationale, Paris, MS nouv. acq. lat. 692 treated Fitzherbert with some deference. Writing around the end of the twelfth century, this continuator recorded the final year of Fitzherbert's troubled episcopate in terms far removed from the virulence of the election polemicists:

Anno.m.cliiij. Willelmus ille pie recordationis Archiepiscopus Eboracensis permittente pio papā Anastasio ad cathedram suam summo cum honore reuersus est. Et infra.viiam. septimanam obiit.

Nonetheless, York probably did not have the same means as Durham of circulating books. A considerable period must have passed before the cathedral scriptorium and library recovered from the Norman attack of 1069, described by Hugh the Chantor c 1127:

Incensa quoque et Beati Petri metropolis ecclesia et ornamenta illius, carte et privilegia combusta vel perdita fuerunt. ²

This setback was followed by a Danish attack in 1075,³ and by a fire in 1137.⁴ Alexander and Kauffmann have indicated that in the latter part of the twelfth century York, like Durham, 'may have become an important centre' for illuminated manuscripts,⁵ and Barr has ten-

¹Todd and Offler p 158. The same passage occurs in the chronicle of Holyrood; see A Scottish chronicle known as the Chronicle of Holyrood, ed M.O. Anderson, Scottish History Society third series 30 (Edinburgh 1938) p 125.

²Hugh the Chantor, The History of the Church of York 1066-1127, ed Charles Johnson (London 1961) p 1. For a parallel situation, see Richard Bruce Marks, The Medieval Manuscript Library of the Charterhouse of St Barbara in Cologne, 2 vols, Analecta Cartusiana 21-22 (Salzburg 1974) 1 p 89. Here, the library was destroyed by a fire in 1451 but was restocked 'with the aid of the other convents and the divites of the city'.

³The Noble City of York, ed A. Stacpoole (York 1972) p 32.

⁴Hugh the Chantor pp 10-11.

⁵J.J.G. Alexander and C.M. Kauffmann, English Illuminated manuscripts 700-1500 (Brussels 1973) pp 44-5.

tatively suggested that manuscripts in the minster library may be assigned to the episcopacy of Roger of Bishopsbridge,¹ but there is not much evidence. Ker gave a positive ascription to York cathedral to only one manuscript from the late twelfth century.² This survivor, BL Harley 46, is a large (270 x 200 mm) gospel gloss in a hand of some distinction and with gold in several initials,³ but the ex libris on fol 3^r from as late as the fourteenth century precludes the certainty of an origin in the cathedral scriptorium. Nor is there enough evidence to link to York itself the celebrated 'York Psalter' of c 1170 (Glasgow University Library Hunter V.3.2),⁴ or the handful of other late twelfth-century northern manuscripts discussed by Kauffmann, such as Bodleian Gough Liturg. 2,⁵ Bodleian Douce 293,⁶ or Copenhagen, Royal Library Thott 143 2^o.⁷

¹ C.B.L. Barr, 'The Minster Library', in A History of York Minster, ed G.E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant (Oxford 1977) pp 487-538, at p 491.

² Ker, Medieval Libraries p 216.

³ fols 3^r, 4^r, 7^r 95^r, 96^r.

⁴ Kauffmann pp 117-8.

⁵ Ibid pp 120-1.

⁶ Ibid p 117.

⁷ Ibid pp 118-20. For Lincoln too it is not clear how many MSS were produced in the cathedral scriptorium; see Kauffmann p 60.

Hugh the Chantor's work, which dealt with York's struggle against the claims of Canterbury, can be seen as roughly analogous to, though not strictly contemporary with, the HDE. The major historical work of twelfth century York, it is not known to have been read at other houses, though this is perhaps largely because it has survived at the earliest in a fourteenth century copy.¹ Knowles suggested that in 'the early decades of the twelfth century a renaissance, intellectual and religious, was taking place at York itself and other centres, which were at last recovering from the Scandinavian invasions and the more recent harrying of the Conqueror'.² The Chantor's work probably formed a major piece of evidence for this assertion, but historical activity in York must surely have been at a low ebb. Otherwise, dean Hugh would hardly have needed to look to Durham, and in particular to Symeon, for information on the archbishops of York.³ Dean Hugh may have been swayed by Symeon's apparently growing reputation for scholarship, but the reply was no work of art. It was short and bald, and a witness to York's historiographical weakness.

The most enigmatic case was that of Hexham, refounded as a regular house in 1113.⁴ It was here that the HR was revised and annotated at a stage previous to the now extant fullest version,⁵

¹ Hugh the Chantor p xi.

² Knowles, MO p 229.

³ Arnold I pp 222-8.

⁴ J.C. Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England (London 1950) p 116 n 1; Gransden p 213.

⁵ Offler, 'Historia Regum'.

and here that the work was continued after 1129. A community of undoubted importance in the twelfth century, the Augustinian canons of Hexham had fallen heir to traditions as venerable as Durham's, and traditions which operated, unlike Durham's, in situ, but they failed to capitalise on their assets. The house owed its credentials as a cult centre to the glories of Wilfrid's episcopacy, when the church praised by William of Malmesbury¹ took shape over the relics its founder had brought home from the mission field,² and to the qualities of such successors as Eata of Melrose, John of Beverley, Acca, Frethbert and Alchmund. Despite the dissolution of the bishopric in the ninth century, it appears that the site continued to attract pilgrims before 1113. Aelred's claims that the crowds had become too large for his father Eilaf to control perhaps owes something to the exaggeration of an enthusiast,³ but one aim of the refoundation may have been to take control of this unorganised piety. In the twelfth century efforts were made to further strengthen memories of the early bishops, notably in Richard's account of the origins of the church, and the campaign culminated in the translation of the relics of the church in 1154, an occasion perhaps prompted by the exhumation of St

¹ Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, ed N.E.S.A. Hamilton, RS 52 (1870) p 255.

² The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus, ed Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge 1927) p 67.

³ Raine, Hexham p 192.

Cuthbert exactly fifty years earlier. By 1154, Aelred wrote, Et quia eorum meritis divitiis indies temporalibus augebantur, etiam eorum temporalem gloriam aemulabantur,¹ but it seems unlikely that Hexham's prosperity was other than comparative. Aelred was perhaps trying to exonerate his father Eilaf from the complaint of prior John that his retention of the revenues of the see until shortly before his death in 1138 had left the canons in a state of penury.² The works of Aelred, John and Richard may in fact have been intended partly as inducements to patronage. Nor does it seem likely that intellectual standards were high at Hexham. If there were men of literary ability in the house, it is hard to understand why it was felt necessary to bring Aelred from Rievaulx to report on the translation, despite the kudos his reputation might have been expected to add to the proceedings. By 1154 prior Richard may have been judged too decrepit to undertake the task,³ and John engaged in work on HR. Aelred's own reasons for writing may lie simply in his feelings as a 'north country patriot',⁴ offended by the continental cleric who had mocked that the Hexham saints were not found in any martyrology.⁵ The translation seems to have been

¹ Ibid p 193.

² Ibid pp 54-5.

³ But probably not yet dead, as Raine (ibid p cxliv) claimed; see HRH p 66.

⁴ J. Taylor, Medieval Historical Writing in Yorkshire (York 1961) p 9.

⁵ Aelred Squire, Aelred of Rievaulx (London 1973) p 67; Raine, Hexham p 189.

motivated at least in part by a desire to thwart the claims that since the days of Elfred Westou Durham had possessed relics of Hexham saints. In his account of this episode Aelred arguably adopted the stance of a Hexham partisan. He may have been the source for the Hexham interpolations in the HR which aim to show that miraculous powers prevented Durham gaining relics of Acca or Alchmund.¹ Richard's history likewise made reference to Durham. He denied Hexham's subjection to Durham and claimed that the establishment of the bishopric of Chester-le-Street in the late ninth century represented a continuation not of Lindisfarne but of Hexham, a view with some validity, since Eardulf, who fled Lindisfarne, had also been bishop of Hexham, but one unlikely to find favour with the Durham monks who read it in Ff.1.27 fol 95^r-102^v.² It is strange to consider, however, that in making adverse comments on the Durham see Richard had to make use of the HDE, and added a telling

¹ Ibid pp 190-9; Arnold II pp 32-8, 47-50; Blair pp 87-90; Offler, 'Historia Regum' p 53. The HDE seems to be the only extant twelfth-century source to claim that Durham possessed relics of Acca and Alchmund. The late eleventh-century Carmen de situ Dunelmi (Arnold I pp 221-2) and the twelfth-century relics lists in Trinity College Cambridge 1227 fol 2^{r/v}, Bodleian Library Digby 41 and CUL Ff.1.27 fol 81^v (printed ibid pp 168-9) fail to mention the two Hexham bishops. York Cathedral XVI.1.12 incorporated the bulk of the 1227 list and likewise omitted Alchmund, but did include Acca, along with his handkerchief and chasuble - Reliquiae de sancto Acca episcopo, et de casula ejusdem, per CCC annos et eo amplius secum in terra jacentibus; see Scrip. Tres, pp ccccxxvi-ccccxxx, at p ccccxxviii.

² Raine, Hexham p 43; Gransden p 288. This slight obstacle to the view that Ff.1.27 was written in Durham seems surmounted by the other evidence; see above pp 80-1.

postscript referring those interested in further reading to a work probably identifiable as the HDE: si quis autem haec plenius nosse desiderat, in Gestis Dunelmensium episcoporum reperire poterit.¹

As Offler commented, there is not likely to have been much material to draw on in Hexham,² but it is tempting to wonder whether this passage perhaps represents an interpolation by a Durham copyist.

Hexham was overshadowed not only by Durham but also by the Cistercians, who arrived later but exerted greater influence than the Augustinians, not least on the affections of the northern magnates.³ In terms of recruitment it is hard to see how Hexham, like indeed other northern houses, could have competed with Rievaulx in particular, where Aelred held the doors open wide.⁴ The telling loss in 1141 of the able and active prior Robert Biseth to Rievaulx's mother-house, Clairvaux, provoked from John of Hexham the reaction that domum suam exposuit et fratres.⁵ The visitation a few years later of Henry Murdac, archbishop of York and a Cistercian, in an attempt to enforce greater

¹ Raine, Hexham p 46 and n y,

² H.S. Offler, 'A Note on the Last Medieval Bishops of Hexham', AA fourth series 40 (1962) pp 163-9, at p 167.

³ On the parallel case of Kirkham, see the comments of Derek Baker, 'Patronage in the early twelfth-century church: Walter Espec, Kirkham and Rievaulx', Traditio-Krisis -Renovatio aus theologischer Sicht. Festschrift Winfried Zeller, ed B. Jaspert and R. Mohr (Münster 1976) pp 92-100, at p 92.

⁴ Life of Ailred p 37.

⁵ Raine, Hexham p 139; for Aelred's view see ibid p 193.

discipline in the house, was a further blow to morale.¹

All this should be taken as an outline which points the way to future work. The origins of most manuscripts will remain obscure or uncertain but in time more northern manuscripts seem sure to be linked with Durham exemplars. Popular authors like Hugh of St Victor may repay scrutiny here. Copies of Hugh's de sacramentis (written c 1134), for example, were in Durham, Whitby and Tynemouth by the end of the twelfth century.² It seems natural to look to Durham for the line of transmission, as Hugh was well represented in the medieval Durham catalogues,³ and especially as we know there was a connection with St Victor. Robert of Adington, whose books reached the Durham library, studied there in the twelfth century,⁴ and Laurence, prior of Durham 1149-54, may have corresponded with Hugh himself.⁵ The Tynemouth copy of de sacramentis was the gift of a Henricus, who

¹Raine, Hexham p 166.

²G.E. Croydon, 'Abbot Laurence of Westminster and Hugh of St Victor', Medieval and Renaissance Studies 2 (London 1950) pp 169-71, at p 171; Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby, ed J.C. Atkinson, 2 vols SS 69, 72 (1878-9) 1 p 341.

³Catalogi Veteres Librum Dunelmi, ed B. Botfield, SS 7 (1838) pp 3, 8, 21, 67.

⁴Mynors pp 78-82.

⁵Croydon pp 169-71.

may have been a monk of Durham then prior of Tynemouth.¹ It would be interesting if a manuscript of the de sacramentis such as Bodleian Library, Oxford, Laud misc. 310, almost certainly the work of Fountains scribes, and with a Fountains ex libris on fol 1^r, could be linked textually with a Durham copy of the second part of the work, King's College, Cambridge, MS 22;² or if the Durham copy of the same

¹ The dates of the early priors of Tynemouth are in some cases uncertain. 'HRH pp 96-7 finds no place for Henry, but Craster's grounds seem reasonable for including him before 1189 though with no exact dates: 'Henry and Robert occur in the Belvoir obituary as priors of Tynemouth, but without date. Their absence of surname makes an early period probable'; see H.H.E. Craster, The Parish of Tynemouth, A History of Northumberland vol 8, North-umberland County History Committee (Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1907) p 122 n 3. W.S. Gibson, The History of the Monastery founded at Tynemouth 2 vols (London 1846-7) 2 p 20 may have been right in identifying him with the Henricus de Tynemue noster professor who appears in the Durham Liber Vitae fol 54r in an early thirteenth-century hand. Gibson's attribution of the hand to the twelfth century is of course incompatible with his conviction that Henry was prior in the thirteenth century. The evidence of the twelfth-century BL MS Harley 3847 cited by Croydon which has a contemporary ex libris on fol 2r reading Hunc librum dedit domnus henricus prior deo et sancto Osuino quem qui abstulerit uel titulum deliuerit Anathema sit amen must surely justify Henry's place in a list of Tynemouth priors even if it does not necessarily identify him as a former monk of Durham. In Cosin's V. ii. 6 fol 8r/v Henricus appears in the list of monks at numbers 103, 159 and 183 in a hand of the later twelfth century (see above p 28). All three may be regarded as candidates, though obviously the name was common.

² There is no critical edition of the de sacramentis. No manuscripts are cited in the English translation; Hugh of St Victor on the Sacraments of the Christian Faith, English version by Roy J. Deferrari (The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

author's summa sententiarum in Bodleian Library, Oxford, Laud misc. 392 might have served as an exemplar for Trinity College Dublin MS 279 fols 34-81, which bears on fol 34^r a contemporary Rievaulx ex libris;¹ or if CUL Ff.4.41, a Durham copy of the Panormia of Ivo of Chartres, another popular author, might be linked textually with a Fountains copy now in Clongowes Wood College, Co Kildare.² But such conjectures lie outside the immediate scope of this thesis.

¹ TCD MS 279 fols 34-113 form one book, none of the items however appearing in the thirteenth-century Rievaulx catalogue printed in M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Jesus College, Cambridge (Cambridge 1895) pp 44-52.

² Ker, Medieval Libraries pp 61, 88; Aubrey Gwynn, 'Some More Notes about MSS. In The Clongowes Library', The Clongownian 17 (1944-6) pp 11-15.

Conclusion

On reconsideration, several aspects of the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae and the Historia Regum, the major works associated with Symeon of Durham, are less certain than appears from the nineteenth-century editions... While the text of the HDE presents few problems and is well represented in the editions, the HR is poorly served. A new edition is needed, to take account principally of (1) near-contemporary additions to CCCC 139 not previously noted in full; (2) the text in Liège University Library 369 C; and (3) recent work on the Worcester chronicle attributed to Florence and John. Symeon's authorship of either the HR or the HDE is not certain, since the earliest rubrics which credit him as author occur as later additions to manuscripts, CCCC 139 and CUL Ff.1.27, probably written, at least in part, in Durham but distributed elsewhere. These two manuscripts, and other twelfth-century volumes, especially Liège University Library 369 C, all previously ascribed elsewhere, should now be seen as originating in Durham. But despite the fresh conclusions which are possible on specific issues, a reconsideration of, in particular the manuscripts of the works associated with Symeon, and of their movements, serves to place the community of which Symeon was a member more firmly than ever in its traditionally perceived role, seeking status and authority over its neighbours, and to some extent succeeding.

The Worcester chronicle attributed to Florence and John: an introduction

In the context of the Historia Regum it is essential to consider the Worcester chronicle attributed to Florence and John. The editions of this chronicle¹ have long been regarded as defective,² but a much-needed new edition still seems remote. The editions are based on the premises that Florence wrote the chronicle as far as 1118, and that John was responsible from 1118 to 1140. Florence's authorship was deduced from the following entry in the chronicle s.a. 1118.

NONIS JULII Obiit DOMNUS FLORENTIUS Wigornensis monachus.
Hujus subtili scientia et studiosi laboris industria preeminet
cunctis haec chronicarum chronica.

3

Evidence from Orderic Vitalis establishes John's role. Sometime before 1125 Orderic visited Worcester:

John an Englishman by birth who entered the monastery of Worcester as a boy and won great repute for his learning and piety, continued the chronicle of Marianus Scotus and carefully recorded the events of William's reign and of his sons William

¹ Chronicon ex Chronicis ab initio mundi usque ad annum Domini 1118 deductum, Auctore Florentio Wigornensi monacho, ed William Howard (London 1592); Chronicon ex Chronicis, Ab initio mundi usque ad annum Domini M.C.XVIII deductum, auctore Florentio Wigornensi monacho; Monumenta Historica Britannica, ed H. Petrie (London 1848) pp 522-644; Florentii Wigornensis Monachi, Chronicon ex Chronicis, ed B. Thorpe 2 vols, English History Society (London 1848-9); The Chronicle of John of Worcester 1118-1140, ed J.R.H. Weaver, Anecdota Oxoniensia medieval and renaissance series pt 13 (Oxford, 1908); Weaver (p4) pointed out that Thorpe's edition is an unsatisfactory collation of Petrie's edition, Corpus Christi College Oxford MS 157 and Howard's edition, itself based on Trinity College, Dublin, MSS 502 and 503.

² R.R. Darlington, Anglo-Norman Historians (University of London, inaugural lecture, 1947); EHD II p 204; Gransden p 143 n 50.

³ CCCO MS 157 p 372.

Rufus and Henry up to the present. This Marianus was a monk in the abbey of St. Alban the martyr at Mainz and there, following to the best of his ability in the footsteps of Eusebius of Caesarea, Jerome, and other annalists, he devoted himself to his task and generously offered the sweet fruits of his protracted study and the great labour he had undertaken in the long exile of this life to the sons of the Church, who cannot investigate such things for themselves. So when he had read both ancient and modern books he skilfully shaped his chronography, in which, passing from the creation of the world when God fashioned Adam from the dust of the earth, through all the books of the Old and New Testaments and the histories of the Greeks and Romans, he collected all the most notable events; and numbering the years by the reigns of kings and rulers he set out his annals exceedingly well up to the day of his death. After him John, at the command of the venerable Wulfstan bishop and monk, added to these chronicles events of about a hundred years by inserting a brief and valuable summary of many deeds of the Romans and Franks, Germans and other peoples whom he knew. In these chronicles you will certainly find all the judges and kings and priests of the Hebrews from the time of Moses to the sack of Jerusalem, when on account of the death of our Saviour and his martyrs the kingdom of the Jews was justly destroyed in the reigns of Titus and Vespasian. There are recorded the names of all consuls and dictators, emperors and Roman pontiffs, and all the kings who ruled over England from the time when Hengist and Horsa fought against Vortigern king of Britain, and put the Britons to shame. In these chronicles too you will find lists of all the bishops who have ruled the church in England from the time that Pope Gregory sent to England Augustine and Mellitus and the other missionaries, through whom God brought Ethelbert king of Kent, Edwin king of Northumbria, and other princes of these peoples into the way of truth. Engelbert, a monk of Gembloux, extracted some important events from these works; and, omitting much that had been written about the islanders of the western ocean in those same islands, he added many of the doings of the Goths, Huns, Persians, and other barbarians. I am happy to mention these books in this record, so that would-be readers may seek the manuscripts out for themselves, for they are the fruits of great learning, and are hard to come by. They have been written by men of this age, and are not yet widely circulated. I saw one of them at Worcester, in England and the other at Cambrai in Lorraine.

¹ The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, Volume II, ed Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford 1969) pp 187-9.

The account Orderic gave of the circumstances surrounding the writing of the chronicle is complemented by William of Malmesbury's Gesta Pontificum, completed by 1125. Describing the episcopate of bishop Robert of Hereford (1079-95), William wrote:

Erat tunc temporis Marimanus monachus apud Magontiam inclusus, qui longo solitudinis otio chronographos scrutatus, dissonantiam ciclorum Dionisii exigui contra evangelicam veritatem vel primus vel solus animadvertit. Itaque, ab initio seculi annos singulos recensens, ^{xi} ⁱⁱ ^{os} annos, qui circulis praedictis deerant, superaddidit, magnam et diffusissimam cronicam facere adorsus. Eum librum Rotbertus miratus unice, emulatus mirifice, Angliae invehendum curavit. Denique captus Marimani ingenio, quicquid ille largius dixerat, in artum contrahens defloravit adeo splendide, ut magis valere videatur defloratio, quam ingentis illius voluminis diffusio.

Præ caeteris contemporaneis episcopis magis sanctissimi Wlstanī familiariatati deditus erat, quem et vicinitate praesylatus attingebat.

While it is quite clear that Florence and John were involved in the making of the chronicle, these passages do not of course indicate for which sections each was responsible. That Florence died in 1118 does not necessarily mean that the chronicle should be regarded as his work up to that date or even that he wrote any of it.² There is no clear break either in style or content at 1118. Darlington pointed out that the chronicle made use of Eadmer's Historia Novorum, which was not completed until 1124, and of William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum and Gesta Pontificum, which were written by 1125. Darlington concluded

¹ Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, ed N.E.S.A. Hamilton, RS 52 (London 1870) pp 300-1.

² William of Malmesbury, Vita Wulfstani, ed R.R. Darlington, Camden Society third series 40 (1928) p xvii.

that the whole chronicle was the work of John between 1124 and 1140, and was instigated at the request of bishop Wulfstan (died 1095). Darlington felt that 'it seems reasonable to conclude that if Florence wrote any of the annals, his work ends before 1095', when borrowings begin from Eadmer.¹ Flint refined this argument. She agreed that John was at work in the period 1124 to 1140, and suggested that work was in progress on the chronicle before this period. She drew attention to the extensive marginalia in CCCO 157, some of which are from Eadmer's Historia Novorum, and, drawing on conclusions by R.W. Southern not available to Darlington, noted that 'Eadmer put his Historia Novorum together between 1109 and 1115 and attended to it again in 1119',² and that entries from Eadmer appear in the margin of CCCO 157 opposite the years 1098 and 1099. Flint concluded that 'The chronicle seems, in other words, to have reached the year 1099 before the Historia Novorum came out; certainly, that is, before 1115, perhaps before 1109'.³

The question of authorship of the Worcester chronicle is not strictly relevant to the Historia Regum, but two points might be made. Firstly, Flint's argument, while making way for the two authors suggested by the sources, is not convincing. It simply does not follow, despite the marginalia from Eadmer, that the text of the chronicle s.a. 1098 and 1099 was necessarily written prior to the appearance or

¹ R.R. Darlington, Anglo-Norman Historians (University of London, inaugural lecture, 1947) p 14.

² V.I.J. Flint, 'The Date of the Chronicle of "Florence" of Worcester', Revue Bénédictine 86 (1976) pp 115-9, at p 118.

³ Ibid.

availability of the Historia Novorum. Secondly, if Florence wrote any part of the chronicle, perhaps he may be credited, though most tentatively, with that part up to 1094, where the hand changes in CCCO 157, or 1110, where there is another, and more often noticed, change of hand. But this is strictly by the way, and the significant point for the HR is the agreement that there is no real break in the chronicle at 1118. The HR itself, in apparently making no use of the Worcester chronicle beyond 1118, has been cited as evidence against this view,¹ but, as Darlington pointed out, the HR did in fact borrow from the chronicle s.a. 1119, unnoticed by Arnold.² It is generally acknowledged too that the basic arguments about the Worcester chronicle should proceed from CCCO MS 157. Weaver established its claim to be regarded, at least in part, as the autograph of John of Worcester,³ and its status as the base manuscript of the chronicle now seems assured.⁴ Other manuscripts of the chronicle include Trinity College Dublin 503, which contains a chronicula⁵ on fols 37^r to 113^v made from the full chronicle for the years

¹ Gransden p 144.

² The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury, ed R.R. Darlington, Camden Society third series 40 (1928) pp xvii-xviii.

³ J.R.H. Weaver, The Chronicle of John of Worcester 1118-1140, Anecdota Oxoniensia medieval and renaissance series pt 13 (Oxford 1908) p 9.

⁴ Gransden p 146; Kauffmann pp 87-8; Flint (p 117) noted that John's hand appears in the text of the chronicle from 1127.

⁵ TCD 503 fols 64^v, 111^v.

up to 1122 and written perhaps in the hand of John of Worcester, as Weaver suspected.¹ This chronicula does not, incidentally, seem to be related to the annals in Liège U.L. 369 C.² From 1123 to 1140 TCD 503 fols 114 to 151 contains material of Gloucester interest.³ Similarly, Lambeth Palace 42 seems to have been made in the twelfth century for Abingdon, Corpus Christi College Cambridge 92 for Peterborough, Bodley 297 for Bury St Edmunds,⁴ and TCD 502 perhaps for Coventry. But rather than these manuscripts or the printed editions, I thought it necessary to use CCCO 157 for the purpose of comparison with the HR.

¹Weaver p 6.

²See above p 227.

³But in a hand of the twelfth rather than the thirteenth century, despite Weaver p 6.

⁴Gransden p 148.

BibliographyManuscripts

With a view mainly to locating elsewhere (1) the main hands of Liège University Library 369C and (2) other Cistercian manuscripts with artwork comparable to CCCC 66, I have tried to consult all the late eleventh and twelfth-century manuscripts attributed to Byland in Ker, Medieval Libraries pp 22-3, Durham (ibid pp 60-76), Fountains (ibid pp 88-9), Hexham (ibid p 101), Holme Cultram (ibid p 102), Jervaulx (ibid p 105), Kirkham (ibid p 106), Kirkstall (ibid p 107), Kirkstead (ibid), Louth Park (ibid p 127), Meaux (ibid p 130), Newminster (ibid p 134), Rievaulx (ibid p 159), Roche (ibid p 160), Sawley (ibid p 177), Selby (ibid p 177), Tynemouth (ibid p 191) and York (ibid pp 216-8). Some of these manuscripts, mainly in continental repositories, such as Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 149 or Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1715, I regret I have not yet seen, but there seems no point in merely repeating Ker's lists. The manuscripts noted below are only those I have cited in my text.

Cambridge:

Corpus Christi College 66, 66A, 86, 92, 100, 139

Emmanuel College 17, 86

Jesus College 14, 23, 34, 38

King's College 22

Pembroke College 82

St John's College 46

Trinity College 1076, 1227

University Library Dd. 7.16, Ee.6.40,
Ff.1.27, Ff.4.41, Gg.3.33, Kk.4.15

Clongowes Wood College, Co Kildare, Ireland, MS 1

Dublin:

Archbishop Marsh's Library Z.4.5.17

Trinity College, 45, 114, 226, 279, 502, 503

Durham:

Dean and Chapter Library A.II.4, A.II.9, A.II.19 A.III.10, A.IV.36,
B.III.16, B.IV.14, B.IV.24, B.IV.25

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Glasgow University Library Hunterian T.4.2

Liège University Library 369 C

London:

British Library Add 25014, 38817

Arundel 217

Cotton Caligula A.viii, Domitian viii, Faustina A.v, B.ix,
Nero C.v, Titus A.xix

Harley 46, 56, 491, 3038, 3847, 4124

Royal 3.D.ix, 3.E.vi, 8.D.xxii, 8.E.iv, 13.D.vi-vii

Lambeth Palace 42

Oxford:

Bodleian Library e Mus 195

Fairfax 12, 17

Digby 41

Douce 293

Gough liturg. 2

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from SCH 12 (1975)

OUTSIDERS, INSIDERS, AND PROPERTY IN DURHAM AROUND 1100

by BERNARD MEEHAN

THE monastic community at Durham was founded by bishop William of St Calais in 1083. Its arrival from Jarrow and Wearmouth was accompanied by an act of aggression, when the secular clerks previously in residence were presented with the ultimatum of either becoming monks or leaving. All but one chose to leave. This action can be seen as setting the tone for the community's attitude to the world outside the see. In their historical writings, particularly Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, written between 1104 and 1109,¹ the Durham monks were self-assertive and defensive.

¹ The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* was last edited by [Thomas] Arnold, [*Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*] 2 vols RS 75 (1882) 1, pp 3–135. For the date of composition, see Arnold 1 p xix. The attribution to Symeon is not conclusive. He was named as author only in the Sawley copy, third in date, now MS Ff. 1. 27 in Cambridge University Library, described in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge* 5 vols (Cambridge 1856–67) 2 pp 318–29. The Durham MSS, Bishop Cosin's MS V. ii. 6, described in R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts* (Durham 1939) pp 60–1, and its early copy, British Museum Cotton MS Faustina A. v, described in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*, ed J. Planta (London 1801) p 603, are both anonymous, as is the fourth copy, an early thirteenth century MS from Durham, described in J. Conway Davies, 'A Recovered Manuscript of Symeon of Durham', *Durham University Journal* 44 (1951) pp 22–8. See also [H. S.] Offler, *Medieval Historians [of Durham]* (Durham 1958) p 20 n 8. The work had been *maiorum auctoritate jussus* (Arnold 1 p 4), and it was only when it left Durham and became of more academic historical interest that it was felt necessary to know the author. Before the end of the twelfth century, Symeon had also been credited with writing the so-called *Historia Regum*, printed in Arnold 2 (1885) pp 3–283. On the problem of the MS which contains this work, see [P. Hunter] Blair, ['Some Observations on the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham'], in *Celt and Saxon*, ed Nora K. Chadwick (Cambridge 1963) pp 63–118 and Derck Baker, 'Scissors and Paste: Corpus Christi Cambridge MS 139 again', *SCH* 11 (1974) pp 83–123. Like MS Ff. 1. 27, MS 139 was also at Sawley, at least for a time, and the rubric ascribing authorship to Symeon is very similar to those in Ff. 1. 27, though whether they are all in the same hand, as Blair suggests (see Blair pp 74–6 and plate facing p 117) can not be regarded as certain. Baker has pointed out that MS 139 was put together in sections of different date; it is interesting that the rubric to the *Historia Regum* occurs at the bottom of the last folio of one section, and the text itself occurs in the next. The ascription to Symeon should perhaps thus be viewed with some suspicion. In his edition of the *Historia Regum*, [J. Hodgson] Hinde indicated some internal objections to seeing Symeon as author of both the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* and the *Historia Regum*; see [*Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*] 1, SS 51 (1867) pp xxvii–xxx.

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by BERNARD MEEHAN

THE monastic community at Durham was founded by bishop William of St Calais in 1083. Its arrival from Jarrow and Wearmouth was accompanied by an act of aggression, when the secular clerks previously in residence were presented with the ultimatum of either becoming monks or leaving. All but one chose to leave. This action can be seen as setting the tone for the community's attitude to the world outside the see. In their historical writings, particularly Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, written between 1104 and 1109,¹ the Durham monks were self-assertive and defensive.

¹ The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* was last edited by [Thomas] Arnold, [*Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*] 2 vols RS 75 (1882) 1, pp 3-135. For the date of composition, see Arnold 1 p xix. The attribution to Symeon is not conclusive. He was named as author only in the Sawley copy, third in date, now MS Ff. 1. 27 in Cambridge University Library, described in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge* 5 vols (Cambridge 1856-67) 2 pp 318-29. The Durham MSS, Bishop Cosin's MS V. ii. 6, described in R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts* (Durham 1939) pp 60-1, and its early copy, British Museum Cotton MS Faustina A. v, described in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*, ed J. Planta (London 1801) p 603, are both anonymous, as is the fourth copy, an early thirteenth century MS from Durham, described in J. Conway Davies, 'A Recovered Manuscript of Symeon of Durham', *Durham University Journal* 44 (1951) pp 22-8. See also [H. S.] Offler, *Medieval Historians [of Durham]* (Durham 1958) p 20 n 8. The work had been *maiorum auctoritate jussus* (Arnold 1 p 4), and it was only when it left Durham and became of more academic historical interest that it was felt necessary to know the author. Before the end of the twelfth century, Symeon had also been credited with writing the so-called *Historia Regum*, printed in Arnold 2 (1885) pp 3-283. On the problem of the MS which contains this work, see [P. Hunter] Blair, ['Some Observations on the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham'], in *Celt and Saxon*, ed Nora K. Chadwick (Cambridge 1963) pp 63-118 and Derek Baker, 'Scissors and Paste: Corpus Christi Cambridge MS 139 again', *SCH* 11 (1974) pp 83-123. Like MS Ff. 1. 27, MS 139 was also at Sawley, at least for a time, and the rubric ascribing authorship to Symeon is very similar to those in Ff. 1. 27, though whether they are all in the same hand, as Blair suggests (see Blair pp 74-6 and plate facing p 117) can not be regarded as certain. Baker has pointed out that MS 139 was put together in sections of different date; it is interesting that the rubric to the *Historia Regum* occurs at the bottom of the last folio of one section, and the text itself occurs in the next. The ascription to Symeon should perhaps thus be viewed with some suspicion. In his edition of the *Historia Regum*, [J. Hodgson] Hinde indicated some internal objections to seeing Symeon as author of both the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* and the *Historia Regum*; see [*Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*] 1, SS 51 (1867) pp xxvii-xxx.

The kings, bishops and earls discussed in this work were judged not according to the dictates of some preordained social order, but according to their treatment of the church, especially in a material sense. Concern with property, the need to show the historical roots of present holdings, was a thread which ran through the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*. The monks' approach was perhaps slightly paranoic, in that all outsiders were seen as a potential threat. The contradiction was that the twelfth century monks were themselves usurpers of the tradition they so vigorously defended. For the community which eventually came to Durham via Jarrow and Wearmouth had been founded by men from Evesham in the south, though it is not possible to say with certainty how many of the twenty-three who came to Durham in 1083 were from the south, or how many survived to be numbered among those in the house after 1104.² The monks successfully appropriated the existing corpus of cuthbertine hagiography, and soon augmented it.³ Their biggest coup, the event which sealed the community's sense of identification with the northumbrian past, was the fresh translation of Cuthbert's incorrupt body to the new cathedral in 1104.⁴ The church itself, which the clerks had been content to dedicate both to Cuthbert and to the Holy Mother of God, became unequivocally *ecclesia sancti Cuthberti*.⁵ Looking back from 1104, it was necessary to prove that the secular clerks had been unworthy guardians of the relics of Cuthbert, that they had represented a corruption of the tradition. Symeon described the fall from a regular monastic state among the descendants of those who had saved the relics from danish desecration:

Ecclesiastical discipline they viewed with hatred, and preferred to follow the attractions of a looser life. For there was no one to hold them under ecclesiastical censure, since the worship of God had almost died out when the churches and monasteries were destroyed. Thus they lived a secular life, enslaved to the ways of the flesh, producing sons and daughters. Their successors in the

² For some discussion of this problem see Appendix.

³ See the *Historia de Sancti Cuthberti* (Arnold 1 pp 196-214), the *De Miraculis et Translationibus Sancti Cuthberti* (Arnold 1 pp 229-61, 2 pp 333-62), and B. Colgrave, 'The Post-Bedan Miracles and Translations of St Cuthbert', in *The Early Cultures of North West Europe* (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies) ed C. Fox and B. Dickinson (Cambridge 1950) pp 305-32.

⁴ See Arnold 1 pp 247-61, and *Reginald[i] Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti virtutibus*, SS 1 (1835) pp 84-90.

⁵ [H. H. E.] Craster, ['The Red Book of Durham'], *EHR* 40 (1925) pp 504-32, at p 529.

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church of Durham knew nothing but a life ruled by the flesh, nor did they wish to know anything different. They were called clerks, but could not claim that rank in either dress or conversation.⁶

When bishop Walcher arrived in 1072, he was naturally grieved at this, and taught them to observe *clericorum morem in diurnis et nocturnis officiis*.⁷ But by 1083, Symeon had to report that the clerks were *in nullo canonicorum regulam sequentes*.⁸ Bishop William thus bound the new community of monks *inseparabiliter* to the relics of Cuthbert.⁹ They were still seeking official entitlement to this position as late as 1123, when they obtained from pope Calixtus II a confirmation of their occupation of the cathedral, which was justified by 'the depraved and incorrigible behaviour of the secular clerics' formerly in residence.¹⁰ By the early 1170s, however, when Reginald of Durham was writing, the monks were secure. The clerks could now be seen as part of the same tradition,¹¹ as men fit to witness the appearance of Cuthbert in a vision which cured a leper. The monks had often heard of this miracle from their brother Thurold, who had himself been told it *a veteranis Canonicis*.¹² It would be wrong to see the monks' objection to the clerks as part of the wider ideological animosity between the secular and the regular clergy in this period.¹³ Symeon could, in fact, note that it was its body of canons which made Waltham in Essex, a Durham possession from 1072, such a celebrated church,¹⁴ and bishop Walcher, who was so distressed by what he saw when he came to Durham, was himself not a monk.

On the evidence of the clerk's historical output, the monks would probably have found the outlook of their predecessors more sympathetic than they could at first have admitted. The pre-monastic chronicle

⁶ Arnold 1 p 8.

⁷ *Ibid* p 106.

⁸ *Ibid* p 122.

⁹ *Ibid* p 11.

¹⁰ [Donald] Nicholl, [*Thurstan Archbishop of York*] (York 1964) p 91.

¹¹ See Reginald pp 28-9.

¹² *Ibid* p 41. It is not certain, however, that Thurold can be added to the names of those who were at Jarrow (see note 2 above), or whether he can be identified with the monk who comes eighty-ninth in the list in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* and had thus not professed up to 1104 x 9. Reginald speaks of Thurold in the past tense, and he was thus not alive in the 1170s, but it is not clear how someone not in the community between 1083 and 1104 could have spoken to the clerks.

¹³ See R. Foreville and J. Leclercq, 'Un débat sur le sacerdoce des moines au XII^e siècle', *Studia Anselmiana* 41 (1957) pp 8-118. See also Nicholl pp 171-2, and, for later examples, Knowles *Monastic Order* pp 662-78.

¹⁴ Arnold 1 p 113.

pieced together by Craster and probably used by Symeon,¹⁵ had the same preoccupation with recording the gifts of property made to the church in honour of Cuthbert. But the clerks adopted a noticeably less strident tone than the monks towards their property. Another Durham work, the *De obsessione Dunelm*, may have been written by a clerk in the mid 1070s.¹⁶ It contained an imperfect, heavily favourable account of the career of earl Uhtred of Northumbria, who died in 1016, and recorded the fate of the six estates which bishop Aldun gave to his daughter on her marriage to Uhtred. The marriage broke up and the estates suffered various vicissitudes. At least two and possibly three of the six estates were not said to return to the church, and, strangely, it was not suggested that they should.¹⁷ Those who seized the lands were not threatened with divine vengeance and the so-called hereditary right to them of the earl's family was not questioned. By contrast, the pre-monastic chronicle and the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* both reported the threats of excommunication which king Cnut uttered against those who dared to interfere with the lands he gave to the church. To the monks, however, the property of the church could be protected better by the addition of an exemplary miraculous element. The chronicle of the clerks contained no story like that of the fate which befell the man who stole Cuthbert's offerings.¹⁸ The difference between the attitude of the clerks and the monks is seen most clearly in the two accounts of the visit of William the Conqueror to Durham in 1072. The clerks said that he entered the church with great devotion, and asked to be told about the life and miracles of Cuthbert, and about the origins of the see. The oldest and wisest in the house let him know that while Cuthbert lived, king Egfrid had treated him with veneration, and that after his death, succeeding Christian kings had shown their esteem by augmenting the liberty of his church. William responded to these and other hints by offering the shrine a mark of gold and a precious cloak, by affirming the privileges of the see, and by gifting the estate of Waltham.¹⁹ As the clerks told it, this was a civilised encounter, with William's behaviour exemplary. The monks, however,

¹⁵ Craster pp 523–9.

¹⁶ Printed in Arnold 1 pp 215–20. For a more complete discussion of this tract, see Bernard Meehan, 'The siege of Durham, the battle of Carham, and the cession of Lothian', *ScHR* forthcoming.

¹⁷ Two of the estates, however, seem to have been back with the church by 1141. See *Acts of Malcolm IV*, ed G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh 1960) pp 146–7.

¹⁸ Arnold 1 pp 96–7.

¹⁹ Craster p 528, and see p 530.

told a different story. They added to the clerks' chronicle precise details of what William gave the church,²⁰ and in their own account gave a more severe version of the meeting. They told an unlikely story of William's scepticism about the existence in Durham of Cuthbert's body, and of his determination to investigate for himself; if he had not found the body there as described, he had decided to put to death every person of consequence attending the feast of all saints, which was being celebrated at the time. But Cuthbert had matters well in hand, and when William was in church the next day he was afflicted with such a heat as caused him to rush from the church, forego the banquet prepared for him, and not draw rein till he reached the river Tees.²¹ Some time later, he sent the tax collector Ranulf, possibly the later bishop, to collect tribute. Cuthbert had to take further action. He appeared to Ranulf as he slept and attacked him with his pastoral staff. Ranulf recovered only when carried beyond the boundaries of the diocese. King William had to be impressed by all this and confirmed the privileges of the see.²² In both cases the result was the same – the demesne of the church was increased – but Symeon made it clearer that the church of Durham was protected from outside interference by the power of the patron saint. The clerks had simply a different outlook from the monks. They referred to the Conqueror as *gloriosus ac potentissimus*,²³ and though both Symeon and the clerks knew his predecessor Edward the Confessor as *piissimus*,²⁴ there is a general lack of such conventional pieties in Symeon's chronicle, which tended to see kings, if danes or scots, as warriors, pillagers and disturbers of the peace and wealth of Cuthbert; if english, as men who learned to respect Cuthbert and offer gifts to his church. It was not a matter of wonder that king Cnut came five miles barefoot to the shrine.^{24a} Symeon treated kings neither with reverence nor with disrespect. He even avoided the temptation to embark on unfavourable comparisons with the saintly king Oswald, the contemporary of bishop Aidan, who did rate the predictable praise, and about whom there was a strong hagiographic tradition, enhanced by the discovery in 1104 of his head in Cuthbert's coffin.²⁵ In their coolness towards monarchy, the monks

²⁰ *Ibid* p 529.

²¹ Arnold 1 p 106.

²² *Ibid* pp 107–8.

²³ Craster p 528.

²⁴ *Ibid*, and Arnold 1 p 98.

^{24a} Arnold 1 p 90.

²⁵ Arnold 1 p 255, and see pp 18–21.

were, however, firmly in the tradition of English twelfth and thirteenth century historians, who regarded kings with much less affection than did their French counterparts.²⁶ But to the monastic author of the *De Miraculis et Translationibus Sancti Cuthberti*, William became *rex gloriosus* when he sent an army to avenge the slaughter of bishop Walcher,²⁷ for it was above all their bishops who gained the respect of the monks. In economic terms alone this may have been justified, for ~~until 1176~~ it was the bishop, not the king, who collected such revenues as taxes, fines, farm profits and the possessions of felons in Durham.²⁸

The monks emphasised that the holders of the bishopric had to be conscious that they were treading in famous footsteps. 'Unless of honest and religious conversation,' Symeon warned, 'a man should not lightly venture to ascend the seat of St Aidan and St Cuthbert and those other holy bishops.'²⁹ The main requirement was that the bishops protect the cult of Cuthbert, and especially that they ensure its economic survival. Personal piety was largely an optional extra, but ideally it was required that the bishop come from inside the community. Symeon suggested that this was *secundum instituta canonum*.³⁰ But in recent years the church had not been served by ideal bishops. Essentially, the history of the church was a history of the bishops, and in earlier times the community could identify with the bishops, since only Sexhelm, the simoniac who was bishop for six months in the mid-tenth century, had not been a monk. Symeon realised that even the secular clerks had had a grasp of the proprieties. Bishop Edmund, who suggested himself for the post in what may have been intended as a faint echo of Aidan's speech in Iona,³¹ would not allow himself to be consecrated until he had taken monastic vows.³² This had happened in 1023, and since then no member of the Durham community had been elected bishop. The monks were thus bitter and frustrated observers of the central aspect of the tradition they professed to be continuing. After the death of Edmund, Edred had bought the bishopric from king

²⁶ See R. W. Southern, 'England's First Entry into Europe', in *Medieval Humanism* (Oxford 1970) pp 135-57, at pp 150-1.

²⁷ Arnold 2 p 334.

²⁸ W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London 1973) p 372.

²⁹ Arnold 1 p 85.

³⁰ *Ibid* p 85. Adherence to monasticism meant that the church of Durham retained the original character of the church at Lindisfarne (*ibid* p 18).

³¹ See *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford 1969) pp 228-9.

³² Arnold 1 pp 85-6. The final judgement on Edmund was that *nullius violentia res ecclesiasticas pessundari patiebatur* (*ibid* p 87).

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Harthacnut, with money plundered from the church.³³ His immediate successors, Egelric and Egelwin, the brothers from Peterborough who held the see for thirty years between them, were the bishops most heavily criticised by Symeon. Egelric, who, ironically, came to Durham as a result of bishop Edmund's entreaties for a monk to teach him the monastic life,³⁴ was bishop for three years before being expelled by the clerks. They did this, Symeon felt, because, significantly, he was a stranger – *extraneus*³⁵ – though by now he had been in Durham for twenty-two years. Egelric, however, bribed earl Siward, and the earl forced the clerks to have him back. The bishop, Symeon said, was plotting along with his brother Egelwin and other monks from Peterborough to plunder the church. Their opportunity came when they decided to replace the wooden church at Chester-le-Street with one of stone, and discovered there some treasure hidden for safe-keeping during the tyranny of bishop Sexhelm. Egelric sent the treasure home to Peterborough, and soon followed it himself, leaving the bishopric in the hands of his brother.³⁶ Such a stern view of Egelric's behaviour was not supported by the *Historia Regum*, produced at Durham sometime after 1129.³⁷ This included a passage from Florence of Worcester which lacked all mention of treasure or

³³ *Ibid* p 91, and see Arnold 2 p 162.

³⁴ *Ibid* p 86.

³⁵ *Ibid* p 91. Strictly speaking, the first four bishops – Aidan, Finan, Colman and Tuda – had also been strangers, having come from Iona. Their successors, Eata and Cuthbert, came via Melrose, as did Ethelwold, the ninth bishop. Of the bishops up to Aidun, Edmund's immediate predecessor, it is not always indicated that they were elected, rather than someone's appointee; for example, Kynewulf seems to have appointed Higbald, his successor. But it may be assumed, from lack of evidence to the contrary, that they were members of the community; of Aidun, it is said that he was *habitu, sicut omnes predecessores ejus, et actu probabilis monachus* (*ibid* p 78). Sexhelm was a puzzling exception. He was a secular cleric, and a simoniac (*ibid* pp 20, 106), but it is not said where he came from, and it is not clear whom he bribed. It is inferred in two places that he became bishop after committing simony (*ibid*); elsewhere, it seems that his expulsion resulted from offences after his appointment: *Defuncto autem Ulthredo episcopo, Sexhelm loco ejus est ordinatus, sed vix aliquot mensibus in ecclesia residens, sancto Cuthberto illum expellente, aufugit. Cum enim, a via praedecessorum suorum aberrans, populum ipsius sancti et eos qui in ecclesia ejus serviebant avaritia succensus affligeret, exterritus a sancto per somnium jussus est quantocius abscedere* (*ibid* p 77).

³⁶ *Ibid* p 92.

³⁷ Blair (p 112) suggests that the section of the *Historia Regum* indisputably the work of Durham is the chronicle contained in Arnold 2 pp 98-283. The chronicle finishes in 1129, but it is not yet certain at what date in the twelfth century it was written. See H. S. Offler, 'The Tractate *De Iniusta Vexatione Willelmi Episcopi Primi*', *EHR* 66 (1951) pp 321-41, at p 322 n 3, and H. S. Offler, 'Hexham and the *Historia Regum*', *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland* 2 (1970) pp 51-62.

bribery, and said only that Egelric voluntarily relinquished his see and retired to Peterborough.³⁸ Strangely, the chronicle of the clerks, the successors of those whom Symeon reported as ejecting Egelric, was positively favourable. It portrayed Egelric as a man who could not resist the violence of those who were attacking the liberty of the church. Rather than allow his own weakness to ruin the church, he preferred to return to his own monastery and die without the bishopric. The chronicle added with satisfaction that those enemies of St Cuthbert who drove him away all came to a bad end.³⁹ Other sources agreed that it was Egelric's life which ended badly. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* recorded that in 1070 he was accused of treason and imprisoned at Westminster.⁴⁰ Symeon, predictably, claimed that he was imprisoned because the king knew that Egelric had taken money from the church of Durham.⁴¹ The explanation for the discrepancies is probably that Symeon simply expected the worst from someone he considered an outsider. Like his brother, Egelwin also ended his days in the Conqueror's custody, the English bishop imprisoned by the Normans at Abingdon. Symeon claimed that this was also a punishment for theft from Durham.⁴² For Egelwin *nihilominus ecclesiae nihil inferre, immo multo magis quam frater ejus ante illum ornamenta resque alias satagebat auferre*.⁴³ But Durham tradition was divided about Egelwin, because in other senses he had protected the see. The *Historia Regum* took from Florence of Worcester a passage which spoke of the translation of the relics of Oswin by the *reverendus vir Agelwinus*.⁴⁴ More importantly, when the Conqueror's army came north in 1069, Egelwin fled to Lindisfarne with the relics of Cuthbert and reached safety with the aid of a miraculous parting of the tide. This was the only aspect of his episcopacy known to the monk who wrote the *De Miraculis et Translationibus Sancti Cuthberti*,⁴⁵ and was discussed also by Symeon and by the *Historia Regum*.⁴⁶ This expedition of the Conqueror's was undertaken in revenge for the death of Robert Cumin, who had been appointed earl of Northumbria and then been burnt alive in the bishop's house in Durham. Symeon recorded this slaughter,⁴⁷ but not

³⁸ Arnold 2 p 173.

³⁹ Craster p 528, and see p 530.

⁴⁰ 'D' version. See *EHD* 2 p 151.

⁴¹ Arnold 1 p 91.

⁴² *Ibid* p 105. For the confusion of the two brothers in other sources, see E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England* 4 (Oxford 1871) pp 812-13.

⁴³ Arnold 1 p 94.

⁴⁴ *Ibid* pp 100-1, and Arnold 2 p 189.

⁴⁵ Arnold 1 pp 246-7.

⁴⁷ Arnold 1 pp 98-9.

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the role the bishop played. The *Historia Regum*, on the other hand, said that Egelwin warned Robert Cumin not to enter Durham, but that his advice was disregarded.⁴⁸ Egelwin seems to have had ambivalent feelings towards the Normans. Where Symeon said that he left Durham because he was carrying off church property literally up his sleeve,⁴⁹ the *Historia Regum* presented the man who tried to prevent Norman deaths as leaving his see because he saw the old English order in turmoil on all sides, and was disturbed at living among a foreign nation whose tongue and customs he did not know.⁵⁰

The conquest produced similarly ambivalent feelings among the monks of Durham. They did not disguise the devastation of the north caused by William's men, or their plunder of the church.⁵¹ But the strength of local feeling, shown in the murder of Robert Cumin and later of bishop Walcher, was not transmitted to the monks, even though Turgot, prior when Symeon was writing, had been imprisoned by the new regime in Lincoln.⁵² Symeon hesitated to criticise the Norman appointees after Egelwin who held the bishopric in apparent violation of the canons of which he had spoken earlier. Southern has recently shown that from the late eleventh century there was an English historical revival, a specifically Benedictine phenomenon which saw the conquest as 'an event in the past to which every evil could be traced.' Along with Evesham, Canterbury, Worcester and Malmesbury, Southern names Durham as one of the great centres of this movement.⁵³ Certainly, those who wrote history at Durham after 1083 were Benedictines, but they did not attack the conquest in personal terms. The difference between Durham and the other houses just named was that at Durham the Benedictines were established by Normans. The Conqueror and his son William Rufus were both benefactors of the church,⁵⁴ and it was known that Rufus was not so benevolent to other monasteries.⁵⁵ The monks therefore could not criticise their patrons. It was pointed out that Walcher was *de gente Hlothariorum*,⁵⁶

⁴⁸ Arnold 2 pp 186-7.

⁴⁹ Arnold 1 p 105.

⁵⁰ Arnold 2 p 190.

⁵¹ See Arnold 1 pp 101, 118; 2 p 188.

⁵² Arnold 2 p 202. In discussing Walcher's death, William of Malmesbury noted that *Fusus ibi non paucis numerus Lotharingorum, quod praesul ipse nationis ejus erat*. See *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi, De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed W. Stubbs, 2 vols RS 90 (1889) 2 p 330.

⁵³ R. W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 4. The Sense of the Past', *TRHS*, fifth series 23 (1973) pp 243-63, at pp 248-9.

⁵⁴ Arnold 1 pp 101, 108, 113, 128.

⁵⁵ *Ibid* p 128: *licet enim in alia monasteria et ecclesiis ferocius ageret*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid* p 105.

and thus a stranger. He was a secular cleric, but was not to be identified with Sexhelm, and *vita laudabilis conversatione religiosum praeferebat monachum*.⁵⁷ Great emphasis was placed on his efforts to reform the clerks, his welcome to Aldwin and his companions, and his preparations, cut short by death, to become a monk and build a cathedral.⁵⁸ But though Walcher could be summed up as *vir venerandae caritiei, sobrietate morum et honestate vitae tali dignus honore*,⁵⁹ he did have failings as a bishop. His position as earl after the imprisonment of earl Waltheof in 1075 seems to have involved him in an effort to balance the administration between norman and local factions. The scheme collapsed when one of his kinsmen, Gilbert, killed Ligulf, a member of the house of earl Waltheof. Walcher was involved in the resulting feud, and was killed in the church at Gateshead. Symeon was reluctant to take sides, but was forced to admit that Walcher had offended the natives – *indigenarum animos offendebat* – by giving his followers free rein to do whatever they liked, and by not restraining them when they did wrong.⁶⁰ He was buried, not surprisingly, by the monks of Jarrow.⁶¹ Walcher's successor, William of St Calais, was another norman appointee to whom the monks owed a great debt. Because he had read that in earlier times the bishopric had been served by monks,⁶² he settled the monks in Durham, and started to build the new cathedral.⁶³ He was, Symeon enthused, 'a man of great prudence and wisdom.'⁶⁴ He protected the monks and, importantly, he separated the monastic from the episcopal lands.⁶⁵ He ruled the monks, Symeon said, 'with the greatest discretion,'⁶⁶ and the operative word was surely *regebat*. The monks who attained office were expressly the bishop's appointments,⁶⁷ though this was not a violation of the *Rule*.⁶⁸ Symeon glossed over St Calais's rebellion against the king, his trial and exile.⁶⁹

⁵⁷ *Ibid* pp 20, 106.

⁵⁸ *Ibid* pp 9, 106, 109–13.

⁵⁹ *Ibid* p 106.

⁶⁰ *Ibid* pp 114–17, and see David Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London 1964) pp 240–1.

⁶¹ Arnold 1 pp 117–18.

⁶² *Ibid* p 10.

⁶³ *Ibid* pp 128–9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid* p 10.

⁶⁵ *Ibid* p 123.

⁶⁶ *Ibid* p 125: *summa discretione regebat*.

⁶⁷ *Ibid* p 123.

⁶⁸ *The Rule of St Benedict*, ed and trans J. McCann (London 1952) pp 148–9.

⁶⁹ Arnold 1 p 128: *per aliorum machinamenta orta inter ipsos dissensione, episcopus ab episcopatu pulsus ultra mare secessit, quem comes Normannorum non ut exulem, sed ut patrem suscipiens, in magno honore per tres annos, quibus ibi moratus est, habuit*.

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Self-interest dictated that he could not blame either bishop or king for the quarrel, for while St Calais was away, William Rufus had defended the community, and when he returned, it was with quantities of gold and silver altar vessels and books.⁷⁰ Symeon thus argued that the dissension had arisen through the schemes of others. The vindication of St Calais was completed by a pamphlet which, Offer argues, was produced ~~around 1114~~. It portrayed him as a wronged defender of ecclesiastical privilege appealing to the pope, but admitted the charge of treason.⁷¹ The praise Symeon gave to St Calais may have been intended as an oblique criticism of a man who fell foul of the next king, Henry I – Ranulf Flambard, who was bishop when Symeon was writing. St Calais, Symeon said, *nilhil unquam de ecclesia auferebat; quin potius semper inferre, et multis eam ac pretiosis ornamentorum speciebus studebat exornare*.⁷² It is true, as Southern pointed out, that Flambard's wrongful exactions, of which he repented on his deathbed, were to a large extent directed towards building the cathedral.⁷³ But while Flambard may have, in the words of Symeon's continuator, defended the rights and liberties of his see *contra extraneos*,⁷⁴ the situation could not have been so clear while the bishop lived, and Symeon may have preferred to maintain a meaningful silence.⁷⁵

All this is perhaps a slightly selective approach to Symeon's work. He shared the moralistic and miraculous background common to medieval historiography. He told some admonitory tales of the fate of women who defied custom and entered the church where Cuthbert's relics lay.⁷⁶ His attitude to clerical celibacy was what might loosely be termed 'gregorian.'⁷⁷ There was also in Durham some interest in affairs outside the see. This is typified by the *Historia Regum*, and by Symeon's tract on the archbishops of York.⁷⁸ But having said this, it must still be claimed that in the few crucial decades after their foundation, the monks' attitude to the outside world was governed by two primary considerations. They sought, firstly, to establish their continuity with the past, and the tradition they usurped and embellished

⁷⁰ *Ibid* p 128.

⁷¹ See Offer, 'De Iniusta Vexacione'.

⁷² Arnold 1 p 125.

⁷³ R. W. Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard', in *Medieval Humanism* pp 183–205, at p 202.

⁷⁴ Arnold 1 p 139.

⁷⁵ See Offer, *Medieval Historians* p 7. For later relations between bishop and monks see [G. V.] Scammell, [Hugh du Puiset] (Cambridge 1956) pp 135–41.

⁷⁶ Arnold 1 pp 60–1, 95.

⁷⁷ *Ibid* pp 93, 131, and see Scammell pp 100–1.

⁷⁸ Arnold 1, pp 222–8.

was strong enough to envelop those who came north. Lawrence of Durham, the prior who came from Waltham, is acknowledged as a 'humanist,'⁷⁹ and was therefore, arguably, influenced by ideas not native to the north. But while in Durham, he wrote verse on Cuthbert, and on the troubles which William Cumin inflicted on the see in the 1140s.⁸⁰ For the monks, loyalty to the see was stronger than loyalty to their order. Symeon's continuator was able to castigate the cistercian who helped William Cumin as a *gyrovagus*,⁸¹ one of the types of monk condemned by Benedict.⁸² But Symeon himself could not hide that those who plundered the bishopric in the 1040s were fellow benedictines from Peterborough. The monks had to balance a protective attitude towards the bishops, the personification of continuity, with aggression towards outsiders, and when the two aims clashed, a certain tension became apparent. Secondly, the see had to survive territorially. The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* demonstrated that the influence of property questions was not unique to the twelfth century, and a recurrent controversy with St Albans, another benedictine community, that it was not unique to Durham. The problem was the church of Tynemouth, claimed by Durham, but in the possession of St Albans, probably from c 1090.⁸³ The row flared again in the 1170s, shortly before the St Albans' chronicler, Roger of Wendover (died 1236), was writing. Though he made no direct reference to Tynemouth, it seems likely that this is what stopped him from finding a good word for any bishop of Durham.⁸⁴ Where property was concerned, objective criteria could not apply. In ninth century Lindisfarne, the *Liber Vitae*, a book which came to lie on the

⁷⁹ See Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050–1200* (London 1972) pp 68–9, 100.

Lawrence was prior 1149–54.

⁸⁰ See *Dialogi Laurentii Dunelmensis Monachi ac Prioris*, SS 70 (1878) 2, pp 12–38, 69–70.

⁸¹ Arnold 1 p 147.

⁸² *The Rule* p 14.

⁸³ See H. S. Offler, *Durham Episcopal Charters 1071–1152*, SS 179 (1968) pp 4–6, 30–2, 41–7; Arnold 1 pp 124–5; Nicholl pp 76–7.

⁸⁴ Wendover was the only chronicler to blame Walcher for his own death. He accused Walcher of buying the earldom and of reducing the population to poverty. See [Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*] 4 vols, ed [H. O.] Coxe, English Historical Society (London 1841–2) 2, pp 17–18. Wendover indulged in the usual monastic rhetoric against Ranulf Flambard (*ibid* p 165). Up to 1201, he seems to have used an earlier St Albans' chronicle which he may have embellished; see [Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*] 3 vols, ed [H. G.] Hewlett, RS 84 (1889) 3, pp xi–xxii. He accused Hugh du Puiset of bribing his king and pope; see Coxe 3, p 9. In fact, Hugh did buy the earldom; see Scammell pp 49–50. Wendover was violently opposed to Richard Marsh (bishop 1215–26) in his struggle with the monks of Durham; see Coxe 4, pp 68–71, Hewlett 3, p xxii, and Offler *Medieval Historians* p 15.

Outsiders, insiders, and property in Durham around 1100

high altar at Durham, had been inscribed with the names of benefactors arranged according to rank: kings and earls came first, followed by queens and abbesses, then by hermits, abbots and so on. In twelfth century Durham, no such rigid stratification is apparent.⁸⁵

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⁸⁵ See *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, SS 136 (1923) p xvi, and see, for example, fols 14^v and 16^v, where, admittedly in part for reasons of space, the ninth century groupings are ignored.

APPENDIX

Symeon said that few of the recruits to Jarrow were northumbrians, more were *de australibus Anglorum partibus*.¹ He said that in 1083 twenty-three monks came from Jarrow and Wearmouth. The figure survives in the cottonian MS, but was erased from the Cosin's MS and did not appear in subsequent copies.² The names of those who had taken monastic vows in Durham between 1083 and the time of writing (1104 x 9) are contained in the Cosin's MS.³ There are seventy-three names in the original hand, and here I agree with Arnold rather than J. Conway Davies, on where the original hand ends.⁴ But Arnold was certainly mistaken in thinking that the other names in the list were all written in the same hand. Ælfrædus (seventy-fourth) to Absalon (ninety-eighth) at the end of fol 7^v are written in at least four different hands, and the names on fol 8, from Willelmus (ninety-ninth) to the last-named monk, Girardus, are in another.⁵ Arnold was probably correct in identifying the original monks with the first twenty-three in the list.⁶ Wulmorus (fifth), Turkillus (eighth) and Edmundus (twenty-second) were said by the *Historia Regum* to have been at Jarrow.⁷ Aldwin (first), the first prior of Durham, had refounded Jarrow along with Elfwinus, second in the list.⁸ Turgot (sixth), who joined Jarrow later, was second prior,⁹ and the capital letters used in the MS for his name but not for that of Algarus, the next prior, indicate that he was probably prior when the bulk of the Cosin's MS was written. Leofwinus, fourth in the list, was made sacrist in 1083,¹⁰ and Swartebrandus (fourteenth) and Gamelo (fifteenth) were reported as dying in Durham.¹¹

That Symeon himself was at Jarrow was accepted by Arnold¹² and by Knowles.¹³ The idea originated with Thomas Rud, who concluded that *Fuit ergo Symeon inter Monachos*

¹ Arnold 1 pp 109–10.

² *Ibid* p 122.

³ *Ibid* pp 4–5.

⁴ See Arnold 1 p 6 and J. Conway Davies in *The Durham Philobiblon* 1 (1949–55) p 11.

⁵ I am grateful to Dr A. I. Doyle for permission to see the MS, and for discussion of this point. There is a similar but not identical list in the *Liber Vitae*, fols 42^v/₁₄.

⁶ Arnold 1 p xii.

⁷ Arnold 2 pp 260–1.

⁸ Arnold 1 p 109.

⁹ *Ibid* pp 111, 127.

¹⁰ *Ibid* p 123.

¹¹ *Ibid* pp 20–1, 88.

¹² *Ibid* pp x–xi.

¹³ *The Monastic Order in England* (2 ed 1963) p 167.

Gyrwenses, priusquam Dunelmum traducti sunt.¹⁴ This conclusion was based on the assumption, which should be regarded as no more than a possibility, that Symeon wrote both the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* and the *Historia Regum*.¹⁵ Rud quoted from the *Historia Regum* the passage in which the Durham monks stated their claim to the church of Tynemouth: *Wlmarum quoque, nostrae congregationis monachum, aliosque per vices fratres, qui ibidem officia divina peragerent, illuc de Gyrra transmissos meminimus . . . postremo, cum Albricus honorem comitatus suscepisset, ipse quoque nobis in Dunelmum translatis eundem locum donavit*.¹⁶ It seems clear, however, that, even conceding that Symeon did write the *Historia Regum*, it is probably a mistake to think that whenever he used the first person plural he was speaking personally. It is at least as likely that in this case the memories were those of a community stressing links with its immediate past. The same explanation might apply to the following, from which Hinde and Arnold both deduced that Symeon had heard the choir at Durham in bishop Walcher's time: *Unde tota nepotum suorum successio magis secundum instituta monachorum quam clericorum consuetudinem candendi horas, usque ad tempus Walcheri episcopi, paterna traditione observavit, sicut eos canentes saepe audivimus, et usque hodie nonnullos de illa progenie narrantes audire solemus*.¹⁷ Hinde suggested that Symeon was resident in Durham before the community moved from Jarrow,¹⁸ Arnold that since Jarrow was only fifteen or sixteen miles away, Symeon could often have travelled to Durham to hear the music.¹⁹ Again, it cannot be taken as certain that Symeon, even if the author of the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, was speaking personally. It may, however, be valid to see a connection between an interest in the choir and Symeon's later conjectural position as precentor, though 'precentor' may almost be a synonym for 'scholar'.²⁰ The conviction that Symeon was at Jarrow led Arnold to seek confirmation of this elsewhere in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*; since he dwelt on the motives of those who resettled Jarrow, 'Symeon may probably be regarded as one of these fervent neophytes from the south',²¹ and the following eulogy on Aldwin provoked the unlikely observation that 'It is surely the natural inference from these words that Symeon himself was one of the monks whom Aldwin brought up with him from the south':²² *Cujus memoriam ut in suis orationibus monachi Dunhelmenses indesinter agant, ipse meritis suis omnino exigit, quem praeivum in ipsam provinciam ducem habuerunt, ubi exemplo illius et magisterio habitantes Christo servire coeperunt*.²³ This conclusion of Arnold's really does seem something of a *non sequitur*, but he was not deterred by this, nor by the knowledge that Symeon's name, standing thirty-eighth in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* list, was not among those first twenty-three monks who came to Durham. The explanation that occurred to him was that 'during his stay at Jarrow, Symeon was . . . a clericus inter monachos degens, as Turgot (p. 111) had been before him, and that he was not regularly professed till two or three years after the establishment of the monastery at Durham, that is till 1085 or 1086'.²⁴ It is not possible to prove that Symeon was not at Jarrow, but the evidence that he was seems, in short, extremely flimsy.

¹⁴ Thomas Rud, *Disquisitio de vero auctore hujus Historiae Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, in Thomas Bedford, *Symeonis Monachi Dunhelmensis Libellus* (London 1732) pp. i-xxxv, at pp. xxx-ii n. a.

¹⁵ See note 1 above.

¹⁶ Arnold 2 pp. 260-1, and see note 83.

¹⁷ Arnold 1 pp. 57-8.

¹⁸ Hinde p. vii.

¹⁹ Arnold 1 p. x.

²⁰ See Knowles p. 428; that Symeon was known as precentor is confirmed not only by the rubrics of MSS. 139 and Ff. 1. 27, as Blair (p. 75) thought, but also by the early twelfth century *Vision of Orm*, ed. H. Farmer in *Analecta Bollandiana* 75 (1957) pp. 72-82, at p. 76.

²¹ Arnold 1 p. xi.

²² *Ibid.* p. 127 n. ²³ *Ibid.* p. 127. ²⁴ *Ibid.* p. xii.

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The siege of Durham, the battle of Carham and the cession of Lothian

The northern English tract *De obsessione Dunelmi et de probitate Ucthredi comitis*¹ has been used extensively as primary material and is relevant to three particular matters of Scottish interest—the siege of Durham in 1006, the battle of Carham and the cession of Lothian. It is extant in only one manuscript, the contentious MS 139 at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,² which contains the so-called *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham, its mutilated continuation by John of Hexham, the *History* of Richard of Hexham and assorted shorter pieces. M. R. James attributed the manuscript to Hexham,³ Mommsen to Sawley.⁴ Blair agreed with Mommsen, and the discovery of an erased Sawley *ex libris* seemed to confirm his opinion.⁵ Most recently, Baker has suggested that MS 139 came to Sawley from Fountains.⁶ He agrees with Blair that the last two gatherings should be regarded as separate, but argues that the whole of MS 139 was put together from sections separately written at much the same date. The argument of Blair, who was inclined to date the manuscript as a whole to c. 1170, therefore lacks validity. Baker distinguishes five sections, leaving aside gatherings XX–XXII. He notes that each section

1 Hereafter *De obsessione*. This article was in an advanced state of preparation when my attention was drawn to Professor A. A. M. Duncan's parallel study, 'The Battle of Carham, 1018'. I am grateful to Professor Duncan for allowing me to see his article in typescript, for a number of references, and for discussion of problems with which we are both concerned. I would also like to thank Mr Derek Baker for reading drafts of the paper and making several valuable suggestions.

2 *De obsessione* has been printed by Roger Twysden, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem* (London, 1652), cols 79–82; by [J. H.] Hinde, [*Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*] (*S[urtees] S[ociety]*, Durham, 1867), i, 154–7; and by [Thomas] Arnold, [*Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*] (Rolls Ser., London, 1882), i, 215–20. All references hereafter to *De obsessione* are to Arnold's edition. Twysden prints the piece without paragraphing, as in the MS; Hinde divides it into three paragraphs, and Arnold into eight numbered paragraphs. The MS has been described in M. R. James, [*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*] (Cambridge, 1912), i, 317–23.

3 M. R. James, i, 323.

4 T. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, xiii (Berlin, 1898), 124.

5 [P. H.] Blair, ['Some observations on the "Historia Regum" attributed to Symeon of Durham' in *Celt and Saxon*, ed. N. K. Chadwick] (Cambridge, 1963), 63–118.

6 Derek Baker, 'Scissors and paste: Corpus Christi Cambridge MS 139 again', *Studies in Church History*, xi (1975), 83–123. MS 139 has had a variety of foliations. References given here are to Baker.

contains a lengthy major work, and suggests that the minor pieces may have been added to fill up the spare folios at the end of sections two, three and four. *De obsessione* comes into this category of supplementary material, occupying only folios 52r–53v at the end of section two.¹ It will be argued later that parts of it should be regarded with caution, but it tells a detailed and apparently reliable story which has been widely accepted.

During the reign of Ethelred II and the episcopate of Aldun, Malcolm II, King of Scots, the son of King Kenneth, attacked Durham. *De obsessione* places this in 969. Earl Waltheof, too old to counter Malcolm, took refuge in Bamburgh. His son Uhtred, whose wife, Ecgfrida, was the daughter of Bishop Aldun, raised an army and heavily defeated the Scots, the heads of whose dead were displayed around the walls of Durham. His reward from Ethelred II was to gain his father's earldom of Northumbria and also that of York. Uhtred repudiated Ecgfrida, whose dowry of six estates—Barmpton, Skirningham, Elton, Carlton, Aycliff and Heselden—reverted to the church.² Uhtred then married Sige, and later Ethelred's daughter Elfgiva. Repudiated again, by her second husband, Kilvert son of Ligulf, Ecgfrida returned to her father with Barmpton, Skirningham and Elton. The scene shifts to Cnut's invasion of England in 1016, the failure of his attempt to win over Uhtred, and his connivance at the murder of Uhtred, planned by a certain Thurebrand Hold. The earldom fell to Uhtred's brother, Eadulf Cudel, who ceded Lothian to the Scots. On Eadulf's death, Uhtred's son, Aldred, succeeded, killed Thurebrand and was killed in his turn by Carl, Thurebrand's son. Carl survived, but his sons and grandsons—apart from Cnut and Sumerlede—were killed by Aldred's grandson, Earl Waltheof. *De obsessione* returns to the discussion of the estates which formed Ecgfrida's dowry. All six were claimed by Aldred's daughter Aelfleda, the wife of Earl Siward. After their death, they were seized by Sigrida, the daughter of Ecgfrida's second marriage, and her husband, who returned Heselden, Carlton and Aycliff to the church of Durham on his wife's death. After the Conquest, the estates were devastated. Barmpton and Skirningham were then seized by hereditary right by another Ecgfrida, granddaughter of Aldred, and her husband Eilsi of Tees. The fate of Elton is not reported.

De obsessione has not hitherto been examined as a whole, but has

¹ Section 2 contains: extracts from the *Chronicon* of Regino of Prum (fos. 19r–37v); the *History* of Richard of Hexham (fos. 38r–48r); a chronicle from Adam to the Emperor Henry V (fos. 48r–50v); a letter from Symeon of Durham to Hugh, dean of York, about the archbishops of York (fos. 50v–52r); and *De obsessione* (fos. 52r–53v).

² These are the present spellings. The text says *Bermetun*, *Skirningheim*, *Eltun*, *Carlton*, *Heaclif*, *Heseldene*.

been used in various ways. Firstly, three writers in particular have made use of its recording of property transactions.¹ H. H. E. Craster felt that *De obsessione* 'owes its origin to Uhtred's lease, for its object is to record what happened to the lands which formed his marriage portion.' It is, moreover, 'our chief authority for the doings of the eleventh-century earls of Northumbria.'² Craster thus used *De obsessione* as a source for the history of the vills which Aldun gave to his daughter. H. S. Offler suggested that the ownership of the vills by Aldred's daughter and granddaughter meant that they came to be seen as belonging to the earldom of Northumbria.³ He also used *De obsessione* in discussing a land grant of Bishop Walcher to a certain Ealdgyth, who may possibly be the daughter of Uhtred and Elfgiva.⁴ But Offler was unwise in positively identifying the 'Crinan tein' of *De obsessione*, father of Ealdgytha's husband Maldred, as the abbot of Dunkeld whose wife, Bethoc, was of the Scottish royal house, a suggestion first made by W. F. Skene.⁵ F. S. Scott agreed that the 'chief purpose' of *De obsessione* was 'to trace the descent of six estates belonging to the church of Durham'. He saw that 'it also records the succession of the earls and carefully notes their relationships to each other and to other members of the family.'⁶

De obsessione is equally useful for assessing the *mores* of the eleventh-century north of England, with its casual acceptance of divorce and with a bishop disposing of church lands as private property.⁷ Thomas Arnold felt that *De obsessione* demonstrated 'the loose notions and practice which then prevailed on the subject of marriage. . . . A Turkish pacha could hardly consult his own inclinations in this matter more unscrupulously than was done by Uchtred.'⁸ Scott notes that Waltheof's slaying of the sons of Carl

must be thought of as part of its age, . . . and as belonging to a society somewhat like the Iceland of the sagas. The vendetta between Thurbrand's family and that of the earls, called by Sir Frank Stenton 'the most remarkable private feud in English history', is reminiscent of many series of slayings between members of Icelandic families. If the full story had been recorded in saga rather than by a monk of Durham the motives which led Waltheof to organise the slaying . . . would probably appear more intelligible.⁹

¹ [H. H. E.] Craster, ['The patrimony of St Cuthbert'], *English Historical Review*, lxi (1954), 177-99; [H. S.] Offler, [*Durham Episcopal Charters*] (SS, 1968), 6-15; [F. S.] Scott, ['Earl Waltheof of Northumbria'], *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser. xxx (1952), 149-215.

² Craster, 195.

³ Offler, 10.

⁴ Ibid., 1-2.

⁵ [W. F.] Skene, [*Celtic Scotland*] (Edinburgh, 1876), i, 394. Bethoc was the daughter of Malcolm II and mother of Duncan I.

⁶ Scott, 150 n. 7.

⁷ See Scott, and D. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society* (Harmondsworth, 1965 reprint 44-5).

⁸ Arnold, i, 215 n.

⁹ Scott, 212.

Dorothy Whitelock, in a discussion of the ethics of eleventh-century society, also mentions the Scandinavian connection. It was Danish settlers, she says, who caused feuds to be prevalent in the north and east. She cites *De obsessione* as 'the most vivid account of a feud', but errs in calling Carl's eldest son 'Thurbrand'.

For Scottish historians *De obsessione* provides material not found elsewhere.¹ It tells of an attack by the Scots on Durham, which Skene found most convenient to date in 1006, not 969 as *De obsessione* has it, in order to corroborate an entry in the *Annals of Ulster* which refers to a heavy defeat of the Scots at the hands of Saxons.² Whitelock accepts the date 1006, but sees it as being a battle rather than a siege, for *De obsessione*'s account 'suspiciously resembles that of the siege of 1040'.³ *De obsessione* is also of primary importance in dating the inclusion of Lothian in the kingdom of Scotland. It is the only source to state that Eadulf Cudel, on gaining the earldom after Uhtred, ceded Lothian to the Scots. The conflicting testimony is that of the *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*, written during the reign of Henry I, probably in Durham, which deals with the origins and succession of the kings of the Heptarchy. There, the section on the earls of Northumbria, which is found in a slightly different version in the *Historia Regum*⁴ and which contains some genealogical details common to *De obsessione*,⁵ states that when Eadulf Yvelcild ruled the northern part of the earldom, King Edgar received homage from Kenneth, King of Scots, and granted him Lothian.⁶ This occurred between 971 and 975, possibly in 973, when Edgar came north to Chester after being crowned and is reported by Florence of Worcester to have received the obedience of eight kings, including Kenneth II.⁷ M. O. Anderson finds that *De obsessione*

has inspired more general confidence than *DRS*.⁸ While *DRS* reads like extracts from an encyclopaedia, and we know much of it to be derived not very accurately from written sources, *De obsessione* reads more like an original writing down of local traditions, concerned

¹ *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*, edited from British Museum MS Cotton Caligula A viii by Hinde, 202-15; from Domitian A viii by Arnold, ii, 365-84. Also see M. O. Anderson, ['Lothian and the Early Scottish Kings'], *ante*, xxxix (1960), 98-112 and [G. W. S.] Barrow, ['The Anglo-Scottish Border' in *The Kingdom of the Scots*] (London, 1973), 139-61.

² Skene, i, 385. 969 is an impossible date. Malcolm reigned 1005-34, Ethelred 978-1016, and Aldun was bishop 990-1018. Bale corrected 969 to 980—see *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson (Oxford 1902), 408. Hinde (p. 154) corrected it to 999: also see n. 37 below.

³ [D.] Whitelock, ['The] dealings [of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the tenth and eleventh centuries' in *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. P. Clemoes] (London, 1959), 86 n. 1.

⁵ See p. 6 n. 2.

⁷ [A. O.] Anderson, *Scottish Annals [from English Chroniclers]* (London, 1908), 76.

⁸ *DRS* is M. O. Anderson's abbreviation for *De Regibus Saxonis*, an alternative title for *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*.

⁴ Arnold, ii, 196-9.

⁶ Arnold, ii, 382.

mainly with Northumbrian genealogy and the inheritance of certain lands. Whether that makes it a reliable witness for events of the early eleventh century is doubtful. . . . There seems to be no external reason why we should not accept as valid its tradition that Lothian had passed (permanently) into Scottish hands after the death of earl Uhtred.¹

Nonetheless, she finds the story that Lothian was ceded in 973 more reliable, and reconciles this with a later cession by explaining that Uhtred's victory in 1006 probably meant that Northumbria regained control over Lothian. G. W. S. Barrow agrees that 973 represents the correct date. He decides that the Scots probably held Lothian *de iure* from 973, and that the evidence of Gaelic place-names and Gaelic landowners suggests even earlier *de facto* Scottish control. Barrow feels that the Scottish victory at Carham (in 1016 or 1018) thus did not win Lothian for the Scots, as Scottish historians have usually in the past assumed.²

De obsessione is thus a piece with several disparate elements. It does not form a coherent whole either chronologically or thematically. If its 'chief purpose' is 'to trace the descent of six estates belonging to the church of Durham',³ then in this it fails in part, for the ownership of Elton at the time of writing is not mentioned. Nor is *De obsessione* an adequate history of the earls of Northumbria. The identities of several earls ignored by *De obsessione* are supplied by the *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*. In fact, the only earls who feature in *De obsessione* are those involved in the transfer of the six villis or in the feud with Thurebrand's family. It is not even a satisfactory account of the feud, which is left unfinished, no indication being given whether Cnut or Sumerlede attempted further reprisals. *De obsessione* is, as Arnold noted, a 'curious tract',⁴ but it may be possible to disentangle its component parts and identify the motives which produced it. It may be conjectured to be an uneasy amalgam of four different sources; (1) an account of the career of Earl Uhtred; (2) an account of the feud, linked to (1) by Thurebrand's responsibility for Uhtred's death; and, less important, (3) the information on the estates, not found elsewhere and possibly derived from oral tradition; (4) miscellaneous genealogical information, inserted wherever it seemed appropriate.

The Uhtred-story may be taken as extending from the beginning of *De obsessione* to the end of what Arnold called paragraph 5. The feud occupies paragraph 7. The estates are discussed in paragraph 8 and in what read like interpolations in the Uhtred-story: paragraph

1 M. O. Anderson, 110-11.

2 Barrow, 151-4. For the earlier standard view see [A. O.] Anderson, *Early Sources [of Scottish History]*, (London, 1922), i, 544 n. 6, and also W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973), 172.

3 Scott, 150 n. 7.

4 Arnold, i, 215 n.

3 and the last four lines on p. 215 of Arnold's edition and the first line on p. 216, which intrude into Uhtred's handling of the siege.¹ Genealogical material appears throughout *De obsessione*, but some of it seems to have no direct relation to Uhtred, to the feud or to the estates. This material may be found on the last four lines of p. 216,² information which is also contained in the *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*³; in paragraph 3, describing the descendants of Ecgfrida and Kilvert⁴; and in paragraph 8, on Sigrida's husbands⁵ and on the children of Eilsi of Tees.⁶ Paragraph 6 may be intended as a footnote to the Uhtred-story, for Eadulf Cudel, who, though Uhtred's brother, is not, incidentally, stated to be Waltheof's son in *De obsessione* or elsewhere, forms a strong contrast with Uhtred. *Ignavus valde et timidus*, he may be deemed so because he does not avenge Uhtred's death. Where Uhtred is said to bring the heads of dead Scots back to Durham, Eadulf gives them Lothian.

It is likely that *De obsessione* represents the initial commitment of the four elements to writing, though the information on Aldgytha and Maldred which *De obsessione* shares with the *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* may come from a common written source. But there are in *De obsessione* signs of oral transmission which have passed into the written version.⁷ For example, dating is imprecise, as if the writer had no means of checking his information. He makes a disastrous mess of dating Uhtred's victory over the Scots (DCCCCCLXIX), and it is difficult to rearrange these letters, taking account of a possible scribal error, into any more intelligible date.⁸ Thereafter, he does not put a date to anything. It may thus be inferred that he had no knowledge of, or perhaps interest in, precise dating. There seems also to be an assumption that the listeners are conversant with the

1 'et has villas de terris ecclesiae sancti Cuthberti, scilicet, Bermetun, Skirningheim, Eltun, Carltun, Heaclif, Heseldene, cum ea sub conditione donavit, ut eius filiam quamdiu viveret in conjugio cum honore semper servaret.'

2 'Ex qua habuit filiam Aldgitham, quam pater in conjugium dedit Maldredo filio Crinan tein, ex qua Maldredus Cospatricum patrem Dolphini et Walteofi, et Cospatrici.'

3 Arnold, ii, 383.

4 'de qua genuit filiam nomine Sigridam, quam accepit uxorem Arkil filius Ecgfridae, ex qua genuit filium nomine Cospatricum.'

5 'Arkil filius Fridegisti, et Eadulf comes, Arkil filius Ecgfrith, hi tres habuerunt Sigridam.'

6 'ex qua Eilsi de Teise genuit Waltheof, et duos ejus fratres, et Edam sororem eorum.'

7 Noted by [D.] Whitelock, [*The Audience [of Beowulf]*] (Oxford, 1951), 16 n.

8 It is just possible that the scribe intended to write DCCCCXLIX (949), when king Malcolm I is recorded as having plundered the English as far as the Tees. See Anderson, *Early Sources*, i, 450, 452. It is also possible, but less likely, that he intended to write DCCCCLXXXIX (999)—90 is written thus in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* (see p. 14 n. 1 below). If 999 is intended, the reference may be to some engagement during King Ethelred's expedition into Cumberland in 1000. See *E[nglish] H[istorical] D[ocuments]*, i, ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1955), 215.

characters described. Cospatric son of Cospatric is introduced as the man who ought recently to have fought with Eilsi's son, Waltheof—*qui nuper debuerat pugnare contra Waltheof filium Eilsi*.¹ This seems to be another tale for another occasion. It is probable that this is the Waltheof described at the end of *De obsessione*, where his father is described as Eilsi of Tees. If so, the writer may not have fully understood, or been able to unite, the identities of the characters he was describing. The same occurrence supports the view that the tales of Uhtred and of the feud are from two different sources united here for the first time. When Uhtred divorces Ecgfrida and marries Sige daughter of Styr, it is on the condition that he kills Thurebrand, an enemy of Styr. Uhtred's death at 'Wiheal'² is *per insidias cuiusdam potentis nomine Thurebrant cognomento Hold*.³ The identity of the two Thurebrands is assumed by Scott⁴ and by E. W. Robertson,⁵ and probably rightly. But *De obsessione* does not say they were the same, and the use of the word *cuiusdam* suggests that Thurebrand is being introduced for the first time. The likely answer is that the writer of *De obsessione* was using two different sources and had not quite reconciled them in his own mind. In the Uhtred-story, Cnut's approach to Uhtred may be a separate section; for Uhtred is spoken of in terms which imply a second introduction. Having been introduced at the siege as *magnae strenuitatis juveni et militiae aptissimo*,⁶ whose reward was two earldoms, Uhtred is again introduced in these terms: *Erat enim idem comes magnae potentiae, utpote comitatum Eboracensium et Northanhymbrorum habens*.⁷

Little need be said about the factual basis of the land transfers which *De obsessione* dwells on, as this aspect of the work has been dealt with elsewhere, and as there is no reason to doubt its accuracy. But while, as will be indicated later, it undoubtedly emanated from the religious community at Durham, *De obsessione* has no explicit devotional intent. Certainly, church lands are discussed, but, from the viewpoint of the church, *De obsessione's* tale is one of failure. Barmpton and Skirningham, though said in 1141 to be held by the monks from the earldom,⁸ and possibly also Elton, are not said to return to the care of St Cuthbert, nor is it suggested that they should. No divine injunctions are uttered against those who seize the lands, and no disagreement voiced as to Siward and Aelfleda's so-called hereditary right to the estates. There is a strong contrast here with

1 Arnold, i, 217.

2 Arnold (i, 218) suggested that *Wiheal* might be Wighill.

3 Arnold, i, 218. Professor Duncan suggests that the promise to kill Thurebrand may be a recollection of the St Brice's Day massacre of Danes in 1002.

4 Scott, 193.

5 E. W. Robertson, *Historical Essays* (Edinburgh, 1872), 172 n.

6 Arnold, i, 215.

7 Ibid., 217-18.

8 See Offler, 11; and *Acts of Malcolm IV*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960), 146-7.

the threats by King Cnut and Earl Copsi to excommunicate all those who dared to interfere with the lands which the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* reports they gave to the church.¹ Thus, despite Offler, *De obsessione* was emphatically not written 'to justify territorial revindications by the see'.² The tales of Uhtred and of the feud recount war and bloodshed totally without Christian overtones. Carl and Aldred's journey (*iter*³) to Rome, presumably a pilgrimage, is not stated to be such. *De obsessione* is, in truth, noticeably secular-minded. The explanation may be that it is based on Scandinavian sources. Both Scott and Whitelock remarked on its resemblance to the world of the sagas, a world lacking the pietistic qualities of the literature of the rest of Europe. As Scott pointed out, the family feud was a situation known to many sagas but, as Whitelock makes clear, the duty of revenge was also a basic Germanic concept which survived long in England, and was not solely a feature of Scandinavian society.⁴ There is, moreover, nothing strictly heroic about the revenge taken by the *dramatis personae* of *De obsessione*. Carl catches Aldred off his guard, and neither Thurebrand nor Waltheof enacts a personal revenge, though the hired assassins they employ can also be found in sagas.⁵

The tale of the feud does not follow a literary pattern and thus has an authentic flavour, especially as the salient facts are recorded elsewhere. The account of the earls of Northumbria, contained with slight variations in the *Historia Regum* and the *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*,⁶ reports Thurebrand's killing of Uhtred, the mutual plotting and reconciliation of Carl and Aldred, and the latter's death. Outwith the section on the earls, the *Historia Regum* notes under 1073 that Earl Waltheof cruelly avenged the death of his grandfather Aldred by sending a strong band of Northumbrians to kill the sons of Carl as they feasted at Settrington.⁷ The interesting point is that *De obsessione*'s version is worked into a self-contained story. Nowhere else is it said that Waltheof sent specifically young men to Settrington; that Carl and Aldred planned to go to Rome together; that a stone

1 Arnold, i, 90: 'Haec itaque ea quidem ratione dedit ut praeter eos qui ipsi sancto in ecclesia deservirent, nemo se intromitteret. Eum autem qui aliter faceret, vel auferre, vel inde minuere praesumeret, rex ipse cum Eadmundo episcopo excommunicavit, et excommunicando discessuris in die iudicii in ignem aeternum associavit.' And Arnold, i, 97: 'illos qui eis aliquid ex his auferrent, cum episcopo et aliis qui affuerant cum diabolo damnandos excommunavit.'

2 H. S. Offler, *Medieval Historians of Durham* (Durham, 1958), 10.

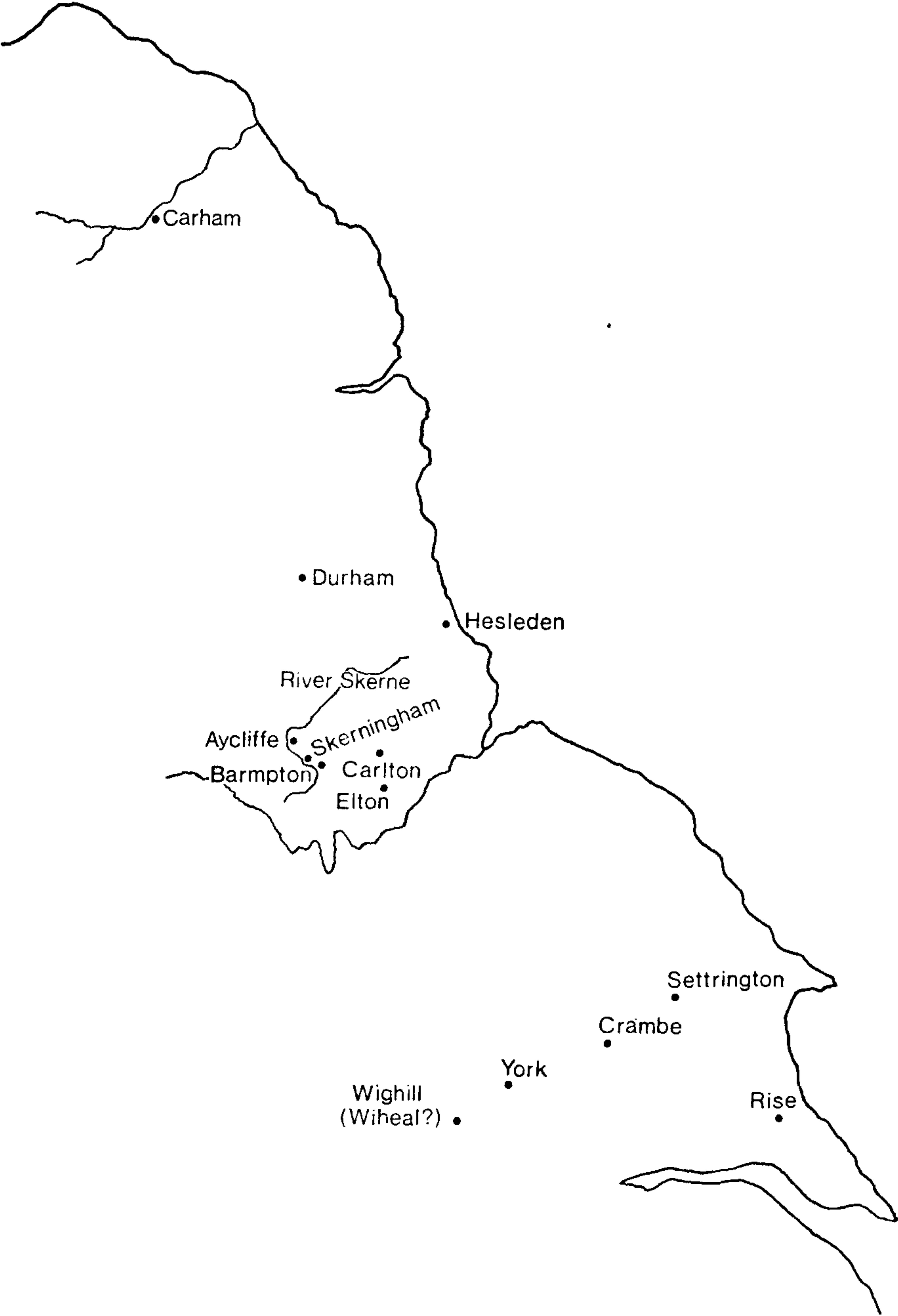
3 Arnold, i, 219.

4 Whitelock, *Audience*, 13-17.

5 P. Hallberg, *The Icelandic Saga* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1962), 108.

6 See Arnold, ii, 196-9, 382-4.

7 Ibid., 200: 'Comes Waltheovus, missa manu valida Northymbrensiū, necem avi sui Aldredi comitis crudeliter ulciscitur; siquidem filios Carl, qui eum occidi fecerat, apud Seteringetun simul convivantes gladius insidiantium consumpsit.'



cross marks the spot of Aldred's death, probably at Rise, and not Settrington, as A. O. Anderson thought¹; that Settrington is not far from York; that spoil was taken from the house; and that two were spared the slaughter, Cnut for his innate goodness and Sumerlede because he happened not to be there. It is not clear, as Scott assumes,² that these two were *sons* of Carl; they might also be numbered among the grandsons whom *De obsessione* alone reports as attending the feast. The *fili* Carl³ are probably, as Scott suggested,⁴ the *quattuor filii Karoli* known to Ordericus Vitalis as having been involved in two of the four rebellions in York in 1069, fighting in the second on the side of Waltheof.⁵ They were clearly an important family. Thurebrand is described variously as 'noble',⁶ 'powerful'⁷ and 'very rich',⁸ and his surname is probably a designation of rank.⁹ The family does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere, though it may be possible to identify Sumerlede with the man who held a small manor at Crambe,¹⁰ where a Waltheof, possibly the earl, also had some property,¹¹ and which is, significantly, only about ten miles from Settrington. A Summerlede is named as tenant in 1066. By 1086 the estate was in the hands of the king, which may perhaps be seen as the penalty for rebellion.

Rather than the story of the feud, however, which has been seen as the Scandinavian factor in *De obsessione*, it is the section on Uhtred which it seems possible to suggest may represent the recension of some form of oral saga. There is known to have been Scandinavian interest in Earl Siward and in his son Earl Waltheof, the result of Waltheof's employment of the skald Thord Skallason.¹² Scott feels that the saga treatment of Waltheof's death and of his share in the battles of 1066 is extremely unreliable,¹³ and, similarly, the Uhtred story does not inspire much confidence. For example, Arnold pointed out that it is probably wrong in claiming Ethelred to be dead when Uhtred was killed.¹⁴ It impresses overall as a half-remembered

1 Anderson, *Early Sources*, ii, 4.

2 Scott, 193.

3 Arnold, i, 219.

4 Scott, 193.

5 *The Ecclesiastical History of Ordericus Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969), ii, 222-3, 227-9.

6 Florence of Worcester, [*Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi, Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe] (London, 1848-9), i, 172.

7 Arnold, i, 218.

8 Ibid., ii, 197.

9 'Hold', a Scandinavian term, came to apply to a class of nobleman intermediate between the thegn and the ealdorman; see [F. M.] Stenton, [*Anglo-Saxon England*] (2nd edn., London, 1947), 502.

10 *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh, 1916), iii, 19.

11 Scott, 214.

12 See A. Olrik, 'Siward Digri of Northumberland', *Saga Book [of the Viking Society]* (London 1909), vi, 212-37; [F. S.] Scott, 'Valthjofr Jarl: [an English earl in Icelandic Sources',] *Saga Book* xiv (1954), 78-98.

13 Scott, 'Valthjofr Jarl', 82-93.

14 Arnold, i, 218. See *EHD*, i, 226.

version of a fictionalised oral life or saga of Uhtred, which recalls in detail only his marriages and which tries to convey a general impression of his bravery, resourcefulness and loyalty to King Ethelred that Uhtred expresses in the direct speech of the dramatic account. As will be seen later from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Uhtred did not in fact adhere to this loyalty. Despite being high on colouring and low on concrete fact, the section on Uhtred in *De obsessione* is taken as a major source for his career. Without it, the entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* would have little to offer.¹

Other sources do corroborate certain aspects of *De obsessione*. The *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* notes Uhtred's marriages to Elfgiva and to Ecgfrida, who is not, however, mentioned by name.² Uhtred appears in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*³ in 1013, submitting to King Sweyn at Gainsborough.⁴ In 1016 Uhtred is said to have been approached by Prince Edmund: 'every one thought that they would collect an army against King Cnut. Then they led an army into Staffordshire, and into Shropshire and to Chester, and they ravaged on their side and Cnut on his side.'⁵ Uhtred realises too late that Cnut is heading for York, hurries back, submits, gives hostages, but is put to death 'by the advice of Ealdorman Eadric, and with him Thurcetel, Nafena's son'.⁶ There is thus the soundest backing for *De obsessione*'s awareness that Cnut sanctioned Uhtred's death; and *De obsessione* may be correct in locating his death at 'Wiheal', a detail unknown to other sources. But it should be noted that where the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells only of Uhtred's submission to two kings, *De obsessione* has him rewarded by one king and courted by another. Florence of Worcester, probably on the basis of a version of the 'D' *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* not now extant,⁷ makes Uhtred's enemy Thurebrand Hold, not Eadric Streona, though there seems no reason why his death should not have been suggested by Eadric and executed by Thurebrand:⁸

Comes vero Uhtredus domum festinanter rediit, et necessitate compulsus, ad Canutum cum omnibus Northymbrensibus se contulit, et obsides ei dedit: et tamen eius jussu vel permissu, a Turebrando, nobili et Danico viro, est peremptus, et cum eo Turketelus Neavanae filius.⁹

1 See *Dictionary of National Biography* (reprint, London, 1964-6), xx, 16-17.

2 Arnold, ii, 383.

3 In the C, D and E versions.

4 *EHD*, i, 223.

5 Ibid., 225.

6 Ibid: only the C version mentions Eadric.

7 *EHD*, i, 113.

8 Ealdorman Eadric Streona is featured in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as causing the death of the thanes Morcar and Siferth, as betraying Ethelred for Cnut, and as being killed in 1017, on Cnut's orders according to Florence. See *EHD*, i, 224-7.

9 Florence of Worcester, i, 172.

This passage, which, along with the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, places Uhtred's death in 1016, is taken over into the *Historia Regum*.¹ The *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* says, 'occiso autem Uchtredo a Turebrando cognomine Hold, per voluntatem Cnutonis regis'.² The text on the earls of Northumbria closely related to this in the *Historia Regum* says:

Uhtred cum regnante agelredo rex Canutus hostiliter invaderet Northymbriam, necessitate compulsus se cum suis ad Canutum contulit; factoque juramento et obsidibus datis, peremptus est a quodam Dano praedivite Thurebrando, cognomento Hold, permittente Canuto.³

The refinement of *De obsessione* is in having Uhtred killed, not by Thurebrand personally, but by his men, hiding behind a curtain. But *De obsessione*'s version is not as full as that of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in omitting to call Thurebrand a Dane. Where the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* has Thurcetel⁴ killed with Uhtred, *De obsessione* states that forty of his men died with him. The explanation may be that Thurcetel was the only other man of significance killed; or the discrepancy may be the result of epic exaggeration. *De obsessione* knew that Uhtred was not the only casualty, but did not know any other names, and perhaps felt that forty extra deaths gave a better story.

The Uhtred section of *De obsessione* contains in addition two important items not found elsewhere: a siege of Durham by the Scots in the episcopate of Aldun and the reigns of Ethelred and Malcolm; and the cession of Lothian to the Scots by Uhtred's brother and successor, Eadulf Cudel. The discussion of these two events is bound up with the discussion of the date of the battle of Carham, and it may be useful first to reach some conclusions on this question.

The longest account of Carham appears in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, written at the beginning of the twelfth century. It places the battle in 1018, describes it as a disaster for the Northumbrians, but does not name the combatants:

Anno incarnationis Dominicae MXVIII, Cnut regnum Anglorum disponente, Northanhymbrorum populis per XXX noctes cometa apparuit, quae terribili praesagio futuram provinciae cladem praemonstravit. Siquidem paulo post, id est, post triginta dies, universus a flumine Tesa usque Twedam populus, dum contra infinitam Scottorum multitudinem apud Carrum dimicaret, pene totus cum natu majoribus suis interiit. Episcopus, audita populi sancti Cuthberti miseranda nece, alto cordis dolore attactus graviter ingemuit, et, 'O me', inquit, 'miserum! ut quid in haec tempora servatus sum? An ideo huc usque vixi, ut tantam viderem cladem populi? Jam in pristinum sui statum amplius terra non reformabitur. O', inquit,

¹ Arnold, ii, 148.

² Ibid., 383.

³ Ibid., 197.

⁴ Thurcetel's father, Nafena, may be identified with the man who attended a great meeting in London in 989 or 990: see Whitelock, 'Dealings', 82.

‘sanctissime, O dilecte Deo confessor Cuthberte, si quid unquam tibi placitum feci, nunc quaeso mihi vicem repende. Illam dico vicem, ut tuo populo mortuo non sim diutius ego superstes.’ Nec multo post consecutus est quod desiderans oraverat. Post paucos etenim dies morbo correptus obiit.¹

The *Historia Regum*, written sometime after 1129, mentions the battle in an interpolation into a section derived directly from Florence of Worcester. This is the only passage to indicate who led the Northumbrians:

Aldunus episcopus Dunholmensis obiit. Ingens bellum apud Carrum gestum est inter Scottos et Anglos, inter Huctredum filium Waldef comitem Northymbrorum, et Malcolmum filium Cyneth regem Scottorum. Cum quo fuit in bello Eugenius Calvus rex Clutinensium.²

This elaboration on the leaders is unknown to an abridgement of the *Historia Regum* in a manuscript now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.³ Roger of Hoveden, using a text related to the *Historia Regum*, also states, ‘... et Aldunus episcopus Dunelmensis obiit. Ingens bellum inter Anglos et Scottos apud Carrum geritur.’⁴ This is taken over into the *Chronicle of Melrose*.⁵ The more independent testimony is supplied in a text written before 1214, one of what A. O. Anderson conveniently titled the *Chronicles of the Kings of Scotland*, which are extant only in later copies.⁶ This gives no date, but states that Malcolm fought a great battle at ‘Carrun’ and on the same day distributed many offerings to churches and to the clergy: ‘Malcolin, filius Kinet XXX. Hic magnum bellum fecit apud Carrun. Ipse eciam multas oblaciones tam ecclesiis quam clero ea die distribuit’.⁷

There is thus no unanimity about Carham in the sources. King Malcolm’s generosity, noted above, may perhaps be taken as thanksgiving for victory, though the same source is also lavish in praise of the generosity of succeeding rulers.⁸ The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* is in fact alone in stating explicitly that Carham was a Scottish victory. It is unlikely, however, that the battle involved such heavy losses for the Northumbrians as the *Historia Dunelmensis*

1 Arnold, i, 84.

2 Ibid., ii, 155–6. It seems that Eugenius (Owain son of Dyvnwal) died in 1015: see *Brut Y Tywysogion* (Rolls Ser., London, 1860), 35.

3 H. S. Offler and J. M. Todd, ‘A medieval chronicle from Scotland’, *ante*, xlvii (1968), 154; and H. S. Offler, ‘Hexham and the *Historia Regum*’ in *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, new ser., ii (1970), 51–62, esp. at 56.

4 *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Ser., London, 1868), i, 87.

5 *Chronicle of Melrose*, facsimile edn., ed. A. O. and M. O. Anderson (London, 1936), 21.

6 See Anderson, *Early Sources*, i, pp. xlv–xlvi.

7 M. O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1973), 254.

8 Ibid., 69, 254–6.

Ecclesiae claims; for its account contains elements which can be taken as primarily stylistic. The whole Northumbrian people, *universus a flumine Tesa usque Twedam populus*, engaged *infinitam Scottorum multitudinem*; the result is said to have caused the death of Bishop Aldun from grief *post paucos . . . dies*. The *Historia Regum*, followed by Hoveden and the *Chronicle of Melrose*, has the battle after his death, but it is possible that Aldun in fact died the next year, if the number of years given for his episcopate in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* is accepted.¹ The entire catastrophe is said to have been preceded by a comet which lasted for thirty days. Several continental sources do note a comet in 1018,² but the tendency since classical times to treat comets as portents of disaster³ and the absence of proper records make it difficult to treat its appearance as absolutely certain. The account of Carham in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* is overall a little too colourful to ring true. A battle which might be placed between a comet and a bishop's death, particularly in a church history, could hardly fail to be spectacular. That Carham was, in fact, a major encounter is the only point of agreement among the sources; though in the light of its absence from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* it must be doubted whether it had more than local importance.

The *Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland* does not indicate a date for the battle, but the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, the *Historia Regum* and the texts related to it—the Paris MS, Roger of Hoveden and the *Chronicle of Melrose*—all place the battle in 1018. Where the *Historia Regum* differs from the Paris MS, Roger of Hoveden and the *Chronicle of Melrose* is in naming Uhtred as the Northumbrian leader. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Florence of Worcester and an

1 Aldun is said to have died 'peractis in episcopatu viginti novem annis' (Arnold, i, 84), after becoming bishop 'anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCCCLXXXX' (ibid., 78). Also see Stenton, 412 n. 2. By the end of the twelfth century, there was some uncertainty whether Aldun died before or after Carham. On fo. 96v of MS 139, at the end of the *Historia Regum*'s entry for 1018, an asterisk refers to a note at the foot of the page, and a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century hand (the same as the hand identified as C¹/C⁷ by David N. Dumville, 'The Corpus Christi "Nennius"' in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxv [1972-4], 369-80), has repeated 'Aldunus episcopus obiit'. This may well have been an attempt to make Aldun's death conform to the version laid down in the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*. Similarly, the entry for 1018 in the late twelfth-century *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses* reads 'Aldhunus episcopus Dunelmensis obiit'; but on the lower margin is written an account, derived from the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, of the comet, Carham and Aldun's grief and death (*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, xvii (1961), 487. Janet Cooper's argument ('The dates of the Bishops of Durham in the first half of the eleventh century' in *Durham University Journal*, lx [1967-8], 131-7) that Aldun died in 1016 seems rather speculative: direct twelfth-century statements that he died in 1018 cannot, I think, be disregarded.

2 See M. Pingré, *Cometographie* (Paris, 1783), i, 366-7.

3 D. Hellman, *The Comet of 1577* (New York, 1944), 13-50. I owe this reference to Dr E. G. Forbes.

earlier passage in the *Historia Regum*, lifted directly from Florence, by 1018 Uhtred would have been dead for two years. Stenton was inclined to place Carham in 1016, 'as names are better remembered than dates.'¹ Whitelock agrees,² but M. O. Anderson, followed by Barrow,³ places her faith in 1018 and doubts Uhtred's presence.

If the battle was fought before Uhtred's death, the course of events is difficult to understand. Uhtred, shortly before he died, had been able to leave Northumbria with a considerable army and join in harrying Cnut's supporters in the west midlands.⁴ It does not sound as though he . . . had recently suffered a crippling defeat. And if he had done so, his brother would hardly have been in a position to concede Lothian, for the Scots would already have been in full control of it. The author of *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, if he was relying on oral tradition, had perhaps no real knowledge of Eadulf's motives; but the motives that he attributes to Eadulf show that he himself either had forgotten about the battle, or believed it to have been fought after Uhtred was dead. For if it had been fought in Uhtred's lifetime, Eadulf would have had no occasion to fear the revenge of the Scots for events of ten years before; their revenge would have been taken already, at Carham.⁵

The weight of evidence does suggest that Carham was fought in 1018, that it was probably fought by Malcolm, but that Uhtred, having died two years earlier, could not have taken part. The importance of this for the siege attributed to 1006, as will be seen, is that the statement which has Uhtred fighting the battle against Malcolm occurs in a section of the *Historia Regum* which 'can be confidently regarded as a Durham work'.⁶

It is possible to reach these conclusions about Carham without arguing, as M. O. Anderson does, around *De obsessione*. It seems necessary, moreover, to disagree with the trust which she places in *De obsessione*, and to suggest that it errs in the two places where it offers information not found elsewhere. Firstly, a siege of Durham taking place in 1006—or even between 1005 and 1016, when Ethelred, Malcolm and Aldun were all in power—but apparently not known to the author of the *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, should be regarded with the deepest suspicion. But the latter does discuss a siege of Durham in 1040, under King Duncan, and what strikes a chord from *De obsessione* is that the Scots are defeated heavily and the heads of their dead are displayed on stakes. In neither source does the Scots king benefit. Duncan flees and is killed not long after; and in *De obsessione*, Malcolm is said to have escaped with difficulty.

1 Stenton, 412 n. 2.

2 Whitelock, 'Dealings', 86.

3 Barrow, 150 n. 27.

4 The army which Uhtred took south is nowhere, in fact, stated to be 'considerable'. A harrying army would, on the contrary, be more effective if it were small.

5 M. O. Anderson, 112.

6 Blair, 110.

Whitelock noted that the account in *De obsessione* 'suspiciously resembles that of the siege of 1040'.¹ She was inclined thus to suppose that Uhtred's encounter with Malcolm was not at a siege but at a battle in 1006. While accepting that there was no siege earlier than 1040, it may be argued further that what the author of *De obsessione* probably had in mind was the same Durham tradition of an encounter between Uhtred and Malcolm known to the *Historia Regum*; and it may be significant that both references to this occur not only in the same manuscript but in neighbouring sections which Baker sees as having existed for a time as a separate volume.² The tradition was undated and imprecise. The *Historia Regum* attributed the battle to Carham without knowing the victor. In *De obsessione*, the battle is coloured by the events of 1040 and turned into a picturesque victory for a man Durham might be expected to remember with affection; for his second father-in-law, Styr, had been a benefactor of the church,³ and Uhtred himself, apart from marrying the bishop's daughter, is recorded as having mobilised the labour which cleared the site for the church and town,⁴ This was in 995, when Uhtred is referred to as earl. It is difficult, therefore, to see 1006 as the date when he became earl, even though he is first known to have signed as earl as late as 1009.⁵ Nor should 1006 be accepted with certainty as the date of the encounter between Malcolm and Uhtred known to Durham sources, though a show of strength by Malcolm the year after becoming king seems quite likely. *De obsessione*'s date (969) and the *Historia Regum*'s date (1018) are impossible, but the entry in the *Annals of Ulster* under 1005(6) is very unspecific: 'A battle between the men of Scotland and the Saxons. And the rout was upon the Scots; and they left behind them a slaughter of their good men.'⁶ The value of the *Annals* for the east coast of England is debatable. This engagement more probably took place further west, closer to the Ulster ambit. It may thus be significant that in the fourteenth century John of Fordun discussed an undated battle between Uhtred and Malcolm which he placed somewhere in the west: 'Othredum itaque comitem Anglicum, sed Danis subditum, cujus inter eos simultatis exortae causam nescio, Cumbriam praedari conantem, receptis praedis, juxta Burgum bello difficili superavit'.⁷ Here, the Scots are said to be victorious, and this is where Fordun's battle obviously differs from the defeat described in the *Annals*. But perhaps

1 Whitelock, 'Dealings', 86 n. 1.

2 Baker, 'Scissors and paste', 86.

3 Arnold, i, 83, 212.

4 Ibid., 80-81.

5 See Whitelock, 'Dealings', 82.

6 Anderson, *Early Sources*, i, 525.

7 John of Fordun, *Chronica Gentis Scottorum*, ed. W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871), 182. It is interesting that Fordun knew of the subjection of Uhtred to the Danes reported in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

the identity of the two battles is possible, given Fordun's lack of objectivity about English overlordship. To Fordun, *Cumbria* probably meant that part of the area south of the Tweed-Solway line¹; Burgus, close to where the battle took place, may now be Burgh-by-Sands, Cumberland, or Brough in Westmorland, a defensible site since Roman times, where remains of an eleventh-century castle are still visible.² It appears, in short, safe to conclude that there was no siege of Durham in 969 or 1006, that Fordun was probably correct in writing of an encounter between Uhtred and Malcolm, but that this cannot be dated 1006 with certainty on the available evidence.

Secondly, the simplest and most likely explanation of the so-called second cession of Lothian around 1016 is that *De obsessione* has made a mistake, the result of confusion. On balance, Barrow's grounds are thoroughly convincing for supposing Lothian to have been decisively Scottish before 1016, and even before 973; the cession of Lothian appears only in English sources, and looks very like an English justification for current, unalterable realities. If Barrow's views are accepted, then it seems likely that *De obsessione*, knowing an Eadulf to have been involved in the ceding of Lothian, confused Eadulf Cudel with Eadulf Yvelcild.³ This is surely more plausible than M. O. Anderson's rather fanciful suggestion that 'Eadulf Cudel may have hoped to obtain and hold Northumbria under the King of Scots.'⁴ He thus 'was actually on the side of the invading army. The people themselves might be expected to favour neither, but to be desperately anxious to prevent another invasion like that of 1006, which had so ravaged their lands.'⁵ But though he did not cede Lothian, Eadulf Cudel probably was recognised as earl after Uhtred's death, as *De obsessione* and the tract on the earls of Northumbria contained in the *Historia Regum* and in the *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* both indicate.⁶ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says that on Uhtred's death Cnut appointed Eiric to be earl 'just as Uhtred had been',⁷ and therefore in control of York and Northumbria. But Eadulf Cudel's local position was probably strong enough to withstand Eiric and ensure that the succession to the earldom in the north was seen to pass to his son Aldred and then to his younger son Eadulf.⁸

¹ P. A. Wilson, 'On the use of the terms "Strathclyde" and "Cumbria"' in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, new ser., lxvi (1966), 82.

² C. T. Martin, *The Record Interpreter* (2nd ed., London, 1910), 358, and *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England: Westmorland* (London, 1936), 47-53.

³ See above, p. 4 and n. 6.

⁴ M. O. Anderson, 111.

⁵ Ibid., 111-2.

⁶ Arnold, ii, 197, 383.

⁷ *EHD*, i, 225.

⁸ See Whitelock, 'Dealings', 82-83. As Professor Duncan has pointed out, more work is needed to clarify the succession and status of earls and so-called earls in the north in this period.

No exact date of composition can be given for *De obsessione*. Section two of MS 139, in which the tract occurs, was compiled 1161-4/7.¹ *De obsessione* was clearly written some considerable time before this, but Mrs Anderson's approximation seems unnecessarily imprecise. She concludes that *De obsessione* 'seems to have been composed not much earlier than 1100, not much later than 1140'.² This span is given on the grounds that

Waltheof, Eilsi's son, grandchild of a marriage that took place 1066x, seems to have reached fighting age some time before the tract was composed; and Sumerled, who had escaped the slaughter of his kinsmen at the hands of Earl Waltheof (Siward's son, died 1076), was still living.³

Mrs Anderson perhaps confuses the date of the original composition of *De obsessione* with the date of its inclusion in MS 139. The argument that there were at least two recensions of *De obsessione* is firmly conjectural, but the passages which she picks out as referring to characters still alive⁴ are exactly the sort of remarks which could have been added by the copyist in MS 139.⁵ The crucial references appear to be to Earl Waltheof, Siward's son, and to William the Conqueror (died 1087), who are spoken of without mention of successors. Waltheof died at William's hands in 1076⁶; the slaughter at Settrington can be dated 1073 by the *Historia Regum*. Blair notes these two dates, but deduces only that *De obsessione* was probably written 'late in the eleventh century'.⁷ It may, however, be suggested more exactly that it was first composed between 1073 and 1076, especially as the earl appointed after Waltheof was Bishop Walcher, who, if alive at the time of writing, would probably have been named in a Durham source.⁸ *De obsessione* can be ascribed to Durham with

1 Baker, 'Scissors and paste', 97.

2 M. O. Anderson, 111.

3 Ibid., n.

4 'Sumerlede, qui usque hodie superest' (Arnold, i, 219); 'qui nuper debuerat pugnare contra Walteof filium Eilsi' (ibid., 217).

5 This copyist may also have been responsible for the misleading rubric. That the rubric and the text were written at different times may be indicated by the fact that whereas the rubric uses the word 'obsessione' the text has 'obsidione'. It is possible, as Baker points out, that the remark 'qui usque hodie superest' may refer not to Sumerlede, son of Carl, but to Somerled, Lord of the Isles, whose death in 1164 is commemorated in section three of MS 139, part of the volume which existed separately for a time with section two.

6 *EHD*, ii, ed. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway (London, 1953), 158.

7 Blair, 66.

8 It is just possible that Waltheof's death was the immediate occasion for the compilation of *De obsessione*, a tract concerned with the deeds of his predecessor Uhtred and with a feud in which Waltheof himself had taken part. But it might be expected that so substantial a figure as Waltheof would have attracted more than the few haphazard references contained in *De obsessione*. A composition date of 1073x6 might also explain why the feud was apparently left unfinished, though later sources such as the *Historia Regum* and the *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* are unable to provide more information.

fair confidence, and not only because of the immediate Durham interest in the estates, in Uhtred, and in the siege which a tradition held him to have lifted. Uhtred is also the link between Durham and the area to the south where the feud was fought out; and the phrase *in silva quae Riseorde vocatur* indicates that the wood where Carl killed Aldred was not known to the listeners.¹ A composition date of 1073 × 1076 may explain the whole tone of the piece. Tracts produced at Durham in this period would probably have been the work of those secular clerks whose customs Bishop Walcher found it necessary to reform when he arrived in 1071. He tried to induce them to conform to the usages of secular canons,² but by 1083, when the monks arrived from Jarrow and Wearmouth, they were *in nullo canonicorum regulam sequentes*³ and rather than become monks, all but one left Durham. If *De obsessione* can be seen as the work of a clerk in a somnolent community without access to much written material, its secular tone, lack of cohesion and occasional unreliability become more readily understandable, and the apparent contradiction is resolved between this unreliability and the date of composition, earlier than that of the *Historia Regum*, *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* and *De Primo Saxonum Adventu*, works which intimate that there was in fact no siege of Durham in 1006, and no second cession of Lothian. *De obsessione* itself helps to clinch the argument that Uhtred was not at Carham, and has added value as an example of the materials, interests and prejudices of the historian working outwith what might be called the national historical tradition of well-endowed Benedictine houses like Worcester or Canterbury.

¹ Arnold, i, 219.

² See David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1963), 166. The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* is less specific: 'clericorum morem in diurnis et nocturnis officiis eos servare docuit' (Arnold, i, 106).

³ For some discussion of the Durham clerks, see Bernard Meehan, 'Outsiders, insiders and property in Durham around 1100' in *Studies in Church History*, xii (1975).

GWAHANLITH

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Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Prophecies of Merlin*: New Manuscript Evidence

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S *Prophecies of Merlin* have for long been thought to pre-date the same author's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, where they are usually found as 'book seven'.¹ Faral estimated that they were written c. 1134, about two years before the *Historia Regum Britanniae*,² but, as Clarke noted recently, there is no 'conclusive evidence' for their separate origin.³

Such evidence can now be supplied by Liège University Library, MS. 369 C,⁴ which contains an unfinished version of the *Prophecies*,⁵ and which, it will be argued, was written in the 1120s. But before discussion of its date and origin, it is necessary to describe the manuscript as a whole.

The contents are:

fo. i, flyleaf.

1. fos. 1^r–73^r, Eutropius, *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*; printed in Migne, *PL*, xcv, cols. 739–1144.

2. fos. 73^v–74^v, summary of Roman emperors, from Octavian to Leo Augustus.

3. fos. 75^r–83^v, *De imperatore Octaviano, Et Ceteris Romanorum Imperatoribus*.⁶ The original hand ends on fo. 83^v with a brief note on the emperor Henry II, and a nearly contemporary hand continues the account to Henry V (1106–25).⁷

4. fos. 84^r–87^v, list of popes, ending in the original hand with Honorius II (1124–30).

5. fo. 87^v, extract from Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen* V, ll. 40–9, panegyric on the

¹ The *Historia Regum Britanniae* was last edited by E. Faral, *La Légende Arthurienne*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1929), iii; and by A. Griscom, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York, 1929). See also the bibliography in the Penguin Classics translation of Griscom's text by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 31–4, 46–7.

² Faral, pp. 8–10.

³ See *Life of Merlin: Geoffrey of Monmouth, Vita Merlini*, ed. Basil Clarke (Cardiff, 1973), pp. 18–19.

⁴ Henceforth Liège. I am grateful to M. Fougere of Liège University Library for permission and facilities to study this manuscript.

⁵ On fo. 143^r, the *Prophecies* begin, not with the explanatory preface which Geoffrey wrote when adding them to the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, but with *Cogit me Alexander* (Griscom, p. 384). After this letter, a rubric reads *Incipit propheta ambrosii merlini*. The text ends abruptly at the foot of fo. 145^v at *finget se defunctam et aprum* (ibid., p. 392). The text is very similar, apart from occasional differences in word order and spelling, to those used by Griscom, though on fo. 143^v it omits the passage

Sub limabit illum equoreus lupus quem affricana nemora comitabuntur (ibid., p. 385, ll. 18–19), and reads *octo sceptrigeri* rather than *septem sceptrigeri* (ibid., p. 386, l. 2). Hammer's impression that there are no variant versions of the *Prophecies* seems to be confirmed; see J. Hammer, *Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Regum Britanniae: variant version* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1951), p. 17.

⁶ The manuscript reads *inperatore* and *Inperatoribus*.

⁷ Much work remains to be done on the possible debt of the material in fos. 75^r–83^v to the *Imago Mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis, who has lately been the subject of considerable critical attention; see, for example, M.-O. Garrigues, 'Quelques recherches sur l'œuvre d'Honorius Augustodunensis', *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, lxx (Louvain, 1975), 388–425; and the work of V. I. J. Flint in *Revue Benedictine*, lxxxii, lxxxv (Abbaye de Maredsous, Belgium, 1972, 1975), and ibid. lxxxvii (1977), 97–127, at pp. 114–15 for comments on difficulties involved in identifying the *Imago Mundi*.

emperor Majorianus, delivered at Lyons in 458;¹ printed in *Sidonius, Poems and Letters*, ed. W. B. Anderson, 2 vols. (London, 1936), i. 64.²

6. fos. 88^r–99^v, the '*De Primo Saxonum Adventu*'; printed in *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols., Rolls Series 75 (London, 1882–5), ii. 365–84; and in *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, ed. J. H. Hinde, Surtees Society, li (1867), 202–15. This tract is followed by an 'abbreviation' of the '*Historia Regum*' attributed to Symeon of Durham.³ A half-page drawing of Woden and his descendants is on fo. 88^v.

7. fos. 100^r–129^r. William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*; printed in *Guillaume de Jumièges, Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. Jean Marx (Société de l'histoire de Normandie, Rouen and Paris, 1914).⁴

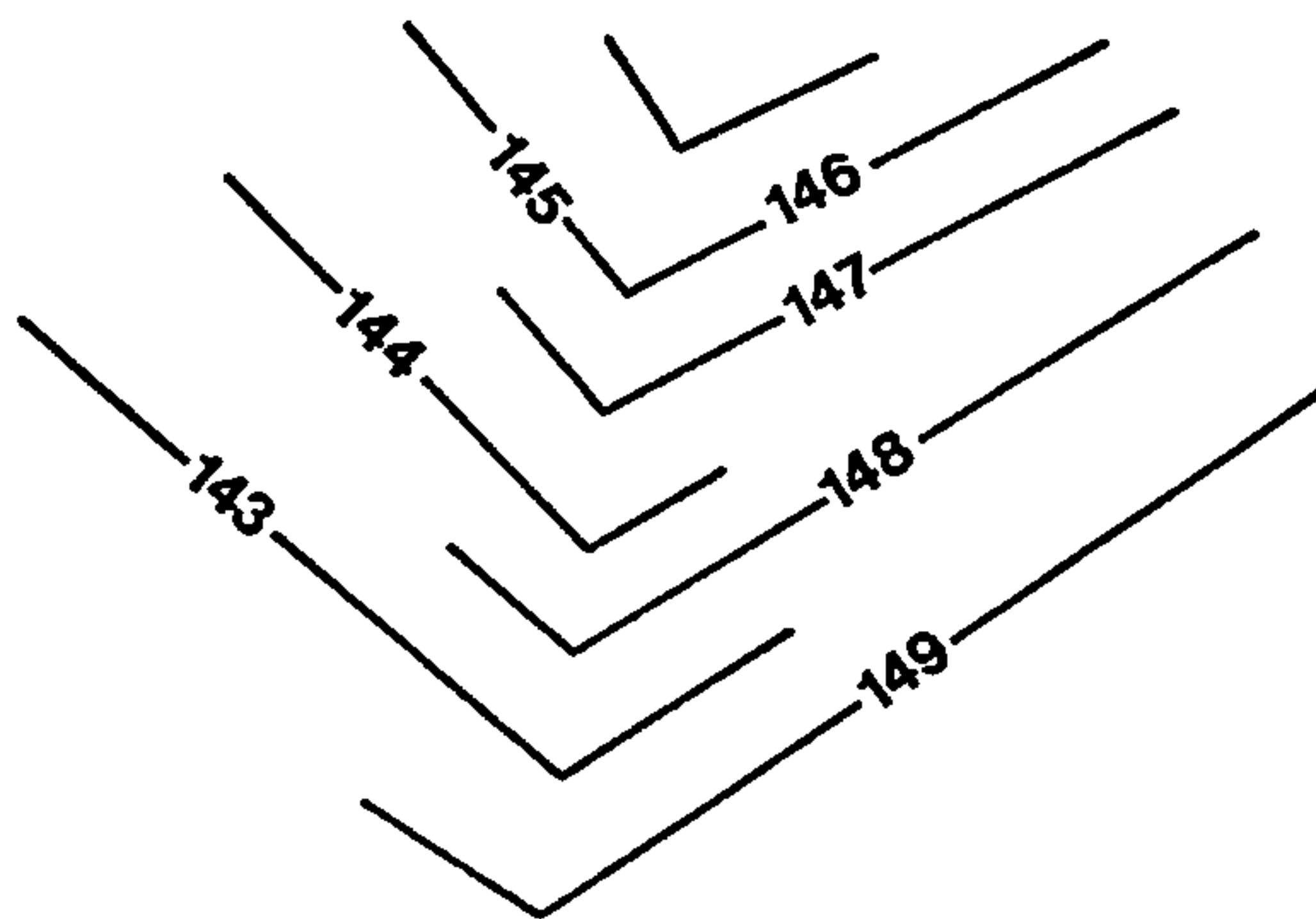
8. fos. 130^r–142^r, the *Historia Brittonum*, attributed to Nennius, here attributed to Gildas; printed in F. Lot, *Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum* (Paris, 1934); and in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, xiii, ed. T. Mommsen, (Berlin, 1898), 111–222.

9. fos. 143^r–145^v, Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Prophecies of Merlin*.

The manuscript now measures 252 × 166 mm, and comprises i+149 folios, of which 145 were numbered in modern times. It is written in single columns of thirty-one lines ruled with a plummet. The collation is:

i; I⁸–VIII⁸ (fos. 1–64); IX¹⁰ (fos. 65–74); X⁸ (fos. 75–82); XI⁸ (fos. 83–7; lacks 1, 3, 4); XII⁸ (fos. 88–95); XIII⁶ (fos. 96–9; lacks 5, 6); XIV⁸ (fos. 100–7); XV⁸ (fos. 108–15); XVI⁸ (fos. 116–21; lacks 4, 5); XVII⁸ (fos. 122–9); XVIII⁸ (fos. 130–7); XIX⁶ (fos. 138–42; lacks 6); XX¹⁴ (fos. 143–9; lacks 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13).

Gathering XX, which contains the *Prophecies of Merlin*, is perhaps best represented in diagrammatic form:



¹ I am very grateful to Mr. Alan Hood of the University of Edinburgh for this identification.

² The initial letters of each line were left for the rubricator, but were not supplied. The verse is added on the lower half of what had originally been left as a blank verso. Puzzlingly, it does not form a coherent extract on its own, since it begins at *ergo* (l. 40) and stops at *defert* (l. 49), short of the end of the sentence. The poem describes how the

allegorical figure of *Roma bellatrix* receives tribute from the whole world, a theme which fits well with the other Roman material in the manuscript. On Sidonius see C. E. Stevens, *Sidonius Apollinaris and his Age* (Oxford, 1933).

³ Dating the Liège manuscript to the 1120s has important implications for the '*Historia Regum*'; these I hope to examine later elsewhere.

⁴ See, especially, p. xxxii.

Gathering XX is fragmented, but was perhaps always so, since the text of the *Prophecies* is unbroken up to the point where it stops, abruptly and before the end of the work, at the end of fo. 145^v.¹ Fos. 146–7 were left blank in the twelfth century, and probably fos. 148–9 likewise, though it is not possible to be certain, since these last two leaves cannot now be detached completely from the binding; but the remainder of the text was perhaps contained in what may once have been a complete bifolium between fos. 145 and 146.² This is now a mere fragment of parchment, and if the manuscript is ever rebound, care should be taken that it is retained, and that the leaves are not trimmed.

The manuscript breaks down into two separate sections which are very closely connected in hands, initials, dating, and provenance. Part I comprises gatherings I–IX (fos. 1–74) and gatherings XVIII–XIX (fos. 130–42). Roman numerals from i to xi appear in the main hand on the lower margin of the first folio of gathering I (fo. 8^v) and on the first folio of subsequent gatherings (fos. 9^r, 17^r, 25^r, 33^r, 41^r, 49^r, 57^r, 65^r, 130^r, 138^r). Part II, which is not distinguished by gathering numbers, comprises gatherings X–XVII (fos. 75–129) and gathering XX (fos. 143–9). D'Ardenne was quite mistaken in thinking that the hand of this last gathering belongs to Part I.³

Part I is written throughout in one hand. Part II, in an almost identical though slightly smaller hand, is characterized by the use of browner ink than Part I. D'Ardenne suggested rightly that both parts can be ascribed to the same scriptorium,³ a view which is confirmed by the distinctive initials in red, blue, and, less often, green in both parts, which are clearly of the same type, and by the fact that the scribe of Part I had access to Part II. This scribe was responsible for the extract from Sidonius Apollinaris on fo. 87^v and perhaps also for a passage in the text on fo. 81^r,⁴ both of which folios are in Part II. The two parts were thus together early, but were perhaps not immediately bound together. The fact that each work was contained in a separate gathering or collection of gatherings meant that binding was not an immediate necessity. The apparent misplacing of the original gatherings x–xi (fos. 130–42, now gatherings XVIII–XIX) of Part I may indicate that the manuscript had become dilapidated by the fourteenth century, when it received its present binding.⁵ On the other hand, it is interesting to note that from the point of view of contents the present arrangement of the gatherings is more ordered, since Roman material now runs continuously from fos. 1^r–87^v, and the *Prophecies of Merlin* follows the Arthurian material in the *Historia Brittonum*. The *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* of William of Jumièges, however, spoils the outright division between Roman and British material, and prevents the argument being pressed too strongly, that the present arrangement of the gatherings may be earlier than the fourteenth century.

¹ See p. 37 n. 5, above.

² It may, however, be significant that other works in the manuscript—Eutropius and William of Jumièges—are also apparently left unfinished.

³ S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne, 'A Neglected Manuscript of British History', in *English and Medieval Studies presented to J. R. R. Tolkien*, ed. N. Davis and C. L. Wrenn (London, 1962), pp. 84–93, at p. 85.

⁴ See fo. 81^r, ll. 20–7.

⁵ D'Ardenne (1962), p. 85. It seemed to me that the binding may well in fact be earlier than the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, I saw the manuscript before I had had the benefit of reading Graham Pollard, 'The Construction of English Twelfth Century Bindings', *The Library*, 5th ser. xvii (1962), 1–22.

A third hand, probably a close contemporary of the two main scribes, added on fo. 83^v the passage on the German emperors up to Henry V, and a brief note on fo. 99^r.¹

The dating and origin of the Liège manuscript, with which this article is largely concerned, has been, and is still, a matter of some disagreement. The *Catalogue* of 1875 dated it simply to the twelfth century.² In 1883, Delisle stated that it was 'copié en Angleterre vers la fin du premier tiers du XII^e siècle'.³ Jean Marx, in his 1914 edition of the chronicle of William of Jumièges, cited Delisle, and described Liège as a 'Manuscrit de la première moitié du XII^e siècle'.⁴ The manuscript remained comparatively neglected until 1962, when S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne published the first of four articles on it.⁵ Disagreeing with the *Catalogue* of 1875, and apparently unaware of Delisle's and Marx's work, d'Ardenne decided in this first article that Liège was written not in the twelfth but in the early thirteenth century:

Among the chief features which support a later date it is enough for the present occasion to mention the consistent use of the hyphen at the end of the line to link letters belonging to the same words; sporadic shapes of some letters, for instance *W* and *A*, which can only belong to the thirteenth century; sporadic spellings of English placenames, as in *Surreie* (*Surreiam*), *Weramuthe*, *Neweburn*, *Angleseia*; and finally the use of Latin words or spellings first recorded in the thirteenth century or later, as *ultionem*, *mutuo*, *feudatos*, *stipendia(rios)*,⁶ to cite a few examples out of many. The names of the monasteries mentioned in the notes have been carefully erased, but M. Stiennon of the Liège University Library has been able to recapture the following entry, in a hand of the thirteenth century, above the title of Eutropius' *Breviarium* on f. 1^r: *Liber S(ancti) tumestal* or *tunnestal* or *tunnesdal*. *Tunstall* is an English placename of common occurrence, especially in the north—Ekwall in his *Concise Dictionary* gives eleven examples. For reasons which will appear presently Tunstall in Durham seems to be the likely place, though there was no religious house there.⁷

The next year, in a review, strangely, of the 1962 volume, d'Ardenne noted that N. R. Ker had indicated a preference for the reading *Kirkestal* (the Cistercian house of Kirkstall, Yorkshire) instead of her suggestion *tunnestal* for the erased ex-libris on fo. 1^r.⁸ In 1966 she added that

¹ Above *Machtildis regina Anglorum* this scribe has written *filia Malcolini Regis Scottorum*.

² M. Fiess and M. Grandjean, *Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège. Catalogue des manuscrits* (Liège, 1875), pp. 330, 357.

³ Leopold Delisle, 'Recueil historique de la Bibliothèque de Liège', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, xlv (1883), 388–92, at p. 388.

⁴ Jean Marx, p. xxxii.

⁵ (i) 'A Neglected Manuscript of British History', in *English and Medieval Studies presented to J. R. R. Tolkien*, ed. N. Davis and C. L. Wrenn (London, 1962), pp. 84–93; (ii) review of above volume, in *English Studies*, xlv (1963), 128–30; (iii) 'The Cistercian Origin of MS. Liège University Library

369 C', in *Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of Margaret Schlauch*, ed. I. Dobrzycka et al. (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 31–5; (iv) 'Un extrait peu connu de l'*Historia Brittonum* de Nennius', in *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune* (Gembloux, 1969), pp. 1–4.

⁶ D'Ardenne here cites J. H. Baxter and C. Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word-List* (London, 1934).

⁷ D'Ardenne (1962), pp. 85–6. This first article formed the basis of the description in *Treasures of Belgian Libraries, National Library of Scotland I July–14 September 1963* (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 28.

⁸ D'Ardenne (1963), p. 130. A recent hand, perhaps d'Ardenne's, has added in pencil these suggestions above the ex-libris: *Sci . . . de . . . al*.

Mr. Neil Ker informs me that he 'put the inscription under ultra-violet lamp¹ and it was a little clearer in the erased part: one could posit an initial *k* and final *l*'. He accordingly suggests the reading *Kirkestal*. Now *Liber sancte marie de Kirkestal* beautifully fits in the erased space, and is supported by other ex-libris inscriptions found in other manuscripts belonging to the same century, among which MS. Laud misc. 216 is of special interest. Indeed beside the ex-libris inscription, a note on f. 173 records the entry into the *probatorium* of two monks, Robert Armeley (Armeley is in the vicinity of Kirkstall) and William Rawdon (Rawdon is near Leeds), a fact also recorded in our Liège manuscript. On the same fly-leaf of our manuscript another fifteenth century hand has scribbled *Iohannes Drax Qwallay*, very likely an Augustinian canon of the priory of Drax (in the West Riding of Yorkshire) who became a monk of the Cistercian house of Whalley over the Lancashire border.²

Ker told d'Ardenne by letter that he thought the manuscript was written 'before rather than after 1200', to which she added in parenthesis, '1200 was my own guess'.³ It should be noted that this was d'Ardenne's third suggestion on the question of date, her other preferences being: 'this manuscript belongs not to the twelfth century but to the early thirteenth';⁴ and 'our manuscript must be dated, *at the earliest*, second half of the twelfth century'.⁵

Dr. Ker has recently been good enough to tell me that he would be happy to date the manuscript 'at or a little after the middle of the century (early third quarter)', but that he has 'a suspicion that as it is a hand with a character of its own it may be a bit later than it looks'.⁶

In the most recent printed reference, Dumville left the question of dating open. He described Liège as 'comprising two companion manuscripts written in the twelfth⁷ or early thirteenth century'.^{8,9}

Since the appearance of d'Ardenne's articles, there has, therefore, been some disagreement about details but general agreement that Liège dates at the earliest from the second half of the twelfth century, and was written at the Cistercian house of Kirkstall. D'Ardenne's work is, however, full of errors, some of which derive from the 1875 catalogue,¹⁰ and her conclusions on date and origin seem particularly misjudged. Delisle's view that the manuscript was written in the late first third of the twelfth century is supported by a study of

¹ Dr. Ker has kindly informed me that he did this in the National Library of Scotland, when the manuscript was on exhibition there in 1963. Unfortunately, an ultra-violet lamp was not available when I visited Liège University Library.

² D'Ardenne (1966), pp. 31-2.

³ Ibid., p. 32 n. 8.

⁴ Id. (1963), p. 85.

⁵ Id. (1966), p. 32.

⁶ Letter of 27 June 1976.

⁷ With a reference to N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (2nd edn., London, 1964), p. 107.

⁸ With a reference to d'Ardenne (1962), pp. 85 f. and id. (1966), p. 32.

⁹ D. N. Dumville, 'The Corpus Christi "Nennius"', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*,

xxv (1972-4), 369-80, at p. 374.

¹⁰ For example, the history of the Roman emperors and popes goes up not, as she says, to 1110, but to Henry V (1106-25) and Honorius II (1124-30) (d'Ardenne, 1962, p. 88); the 'abbreviation' of the *Historia Regum* comes not before the *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* in B.L. Cotton MS. Caligula A. viii (ibid., p. 89), but after it; she did not notice the verse on fo. 87^v. Other mistakes she was able to correct in 1963, partly on Ker's advice. One confused reviewer of the 1962 volume gained the false impression that the manuscript had been presented to Liège University Library by J. R. R. Tolkien; see A. C. Baugh in *Medium Aevum*, xxxii (1963), 246.

hitherto overlooked evidence. Delisle may have been influenced by the fact that on fos. 93^v–94^r the original hand carries the lists of the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishops of Durham down, respectively, to William of Corbeil (1123–36), Thurstan (1119–40), and Ranulf Flambard (1099–1128).¹ The lists were thus composed between 1123, when William of Corbeil was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and either 1133, when Geoffrey Rufus was consecrated Bishop of Durham, or, more probably, 1128, when Ranulf Flambard died.² On fos. 84^r–87^v, the list of popes is carried down in the original hand to Honorius II (1124–30), and was clearly composed before his death, since, although the pontifical years of all previous popes are added in the same hand as their names, the length of Honorius's pontificate has been added in a later hand. These dating spans are confirmed by evidence from the text of the '*De Primo Saxonum Adventu*'. On fo. 93^r the section on the earls of Northumbria ends:

A quo rex Willelmus iunior offensus, dum eum ui cepisset, ipse in sua manu retinuit comitatum . . . frater eius henricus rex . . .

The two spaces represent erasures. A later hand has supplied *et postea* and *retinuit*. B.L. Cotton MS. Domitian viii, however, which contains substantially the same text, reads here *hodieque* and *retinet*.³ It seems likely that these words appeared in the Liège text but were erased when no longer applicable after King Henry I's death in 1135. Another date in the 1120s is provided by the reference in the *Prophecies of Merlin* to Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, consecrated 1123.⁴

This last reference cannot necessarily be taken as other than simply a *terminus a quo*, and, similarly, the terminal dates of the papal and episcopal lists and the erasure of the words *hodie* and *retinet* (referring to the kingdom of Henry I) strictly show only that the exemplar or exemplars were of that date,⁵ and it does seem clear that the manuscript is the work of copyists.⁶ The papal lists do not in themselves alter this impression, since they were not continued until the late thirteenth century, though it might be argued that not even the most obtuse scribe, if writing in the second half of the twelfth century, would

¹ Delisle is not correct in saying (p. 390) that in the Durham list the last name in the original hand is that of Geoffrey Rufus; *Gaufridus* is quite clearly in a different hand from *Rannulfus*.

² See below, p. 44.

³ Domitian viii, fo. 11^r; *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols., Rolls Series 75 (London, 1882–5), ii. 384.

⁴ Fo. 143^r; Griscom, p. 384. Evidence for contracting the dating spans further is perhaps provided by the account of Roman emperors on fos. 75^r–83^v. The original text ends with the German emperor Henry II (1002–24), and at the foot of fo. 83^v another, though closely contemporary hand, has added a note on the emperors between Conrad II (1024–39) and Henry V (1106 to 23 May 1125). Henry's death is not stated explicitly, but *ann. xvii* is written after his name. This must be intended as

an indication of his regnal years, in the same way as for previous emperors in the list, though in Henry's case 'seventeen years' is, of course, inaccurate. But if his death is implied, then the writing of this note on fo. 83^v may just possibly be dated between Henry V's death in May 1125 and the election of Lothar III in August of the same year, though such knowledge of German matters cannot be taken for granted in an English manuscript.

⁵ B.L. Cotton MS. Domitian viii, for example, has lists of bishops ending in the same names as Liège but was probably written around 1200; I am grateful to Professor G. W. S. Barrow for advice on this matter.

⁶ This is suggested by a number of scribal mistakes: for example, *Gastonie* for *Glastonie* (fo. 95^v) and *Cuniacum* for *Cluniacum* (fo. 99^r).

have left unnoted the length of Honorius II's pontificate, especially in a house with the resources demonstrated by this manuscript, or at least by its exemplar. It seems particularly significant, however, that the episcopal lists are not all continued in the one hand but in a variety of hands. The only addition to the Durham list is *Gaufridus* (Geoffrey Rufus, 1133–40), in a hand similar but not identical to that of the main scribe. After *Turstinus*, the York list has three names—*Henricus*, *Willelmus secundus*, and *Rogerus*¹—in a single twelfth-century hand not responsible for anything else in the manuscript. Different hands are responsible for the next three names in the York list, and again for every addition to the Canterbury list. It is, of course, theoretically possible that these names were added not contemporaneously with each succeeding bishop but independently by a variety of scribes in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, but there are difficulties about accepting this view, chiefly in explaining why the names of William of Ste Barbe (bishop 1143–52) and Hugh du Puiset (1153–95) were not added to the Durham list, especially the latter, who in all probability must have been better known than Geoffrey Rufus to an annotator of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.² On balance, it seems likely that the manuscript was written between 1124 and 1128. Strictly, this date applies only to Part II (gatherings X–XVII, XX; fos. 75–129, 143–9), but the close relationship noted above between the two parts means that both are of the same date, though from the fact that the scribe of Part I was responsible for passages in Part II it may be conjectured that II is a little earlier than I.³

If the manuscript can be dated to the 1120s, it could not have been written at Kirkstall, which was not founded until 1152.⁴ For a variety of reasons, Durham seems the most likely house of origin. The section, or at least its exemplar, containing the episcopal lists, can be ascribed to Durham beyond reasonable doubt, since it contains so much material of Durham orientation, and since it is difficult to imagine where else it might be considered proper to add only the Durham list to those of the two metropolitan sees, and to leave more space on fo. 94^r for future Durham names than for those of the metropolitans. The last name in the original hand in this list is written mainly in majuscule (RaNNULfUS), a sign in, for example, the twelfth-century Durham manuscripts, Durham University Library, Cosin's MS. V. ii. 6 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud misc. 491,⁵ that

¹ Henry Murdac (1147–53), William Fitzherbert (1141–54), Roger of Bishopsbridge (1154–81).

² *Hugo* is added in a later hand at the side of the main list.

³ On the palaeographical side, there are not, I think, strong reasons for dating the manuscript later than the first third of the twelfth century. As in so many palaeographical questions, exact comparisons are not possible, since the Liège hands probably do not, as Ker said, conform to a scriptorium type (letter of 21 Oct. 1976). But in, for example, the form of *s*, the *st* ligature, and the *ur* abbreviation, Liège has some similarities with manuscripts known to have been produced in Durham in the early twelfth century, such as University College, Oxford, MS. 165, in particular pp. 5–8, 170–200, though

clearly it can not be argued that this is the same hand as Liège. The manuscript does not, in my opinion, share characteristics with scripts of the third quarter of the twelfth century.

⁴ David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1963), p. 708. D'Ardenne says wrongly (1966 article, p. 32) that Kirkstall was founded in 1147. In fact, the community originally settled at Barnoldswick in 1147, then moved to Kirkstall in 1152. Even if the manuscript could be dated after 1152, it does not necessarily follow that it was written at Kirkstall.

⁵ See Bernard Meehan, 'Outsiders, insiders and property in Durham around 1100', *Studies in Church History*, xii (Oxford, 1975), 45–58, at p. 57. In Laud misc. 491 fo. 173^v, *Hugo* (Hugh du Puiset,

the entry was probably written contemporaneously with the incumbent,¹ especially since it seems doubtful whether a scribe, careless in other instances,² would have troubled to reproduce the majuscule had he been at work after Ranulf Flambard's death in 1128.

Other material in the manuscript does not offer conclusive evidence of origin. Another twelfth-century copy of William of Jumièges, B.L. Harl. 491, is known to have come from Durham,³ but contains a different version of the work and cannot profitably be compared with the text in Liège.⁴ The version of the *Historia Brittonum* in Liège was copied from the same exemplar as the version in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 139 and can be said at least to have strong links with versions written in Durham.⁵ The extract from Sidonius Apollinaris on fo. 87^v may have been copied from a book not now extant given to the community by Bishop William of St. Carilef (d. 1096), though there is no proof of this.⁶ Eutropius is named in the twelfth-century Durham catalogue contained in Durham Dean and Chapter Library, MS. B. IV. 24.⁷

Details apart, it seems improbable that a manuscript like Liège could have come from any other northern scriptorium in the 1120s. Houses such as Selby, Whitby, Tynemouth, and St. Mary's, York are possibilities, but comparative material is limited, and surviving books are neither early enough nor distinguished enough to compare with Liège.⁸ It

bishop 1153–95) is added in majuscule, though in a different hand.

¹ It may be significant that in, for example, Lambeth Palace MS. 42 and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 92, twelfth-century manuscripts of Florence of Worcester almost certainly not written in Durham, Flambard's name is spelt *Randulfus*.

² See above, p. 42 n. 6.

³ *Guillaume de Jumièges, Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. Jean Marx (Société de l'histoire de Normandie, Rouen and Paris, 1914), p. xxxi.

⁴ See J. de Caluwé-Dor, 'L'importance de la version liégoise dans la tradition de l'*Historia Brittonum*', *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune* (Gembloux, 1969), pp. 5–12.

⁵ The highly contentious MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 139 has been discussed in three recent studies: see P. H. Blair, 'Some Observations on the "*Historia Regum*" attributed to Symeon of Durham', in *Celt and Saxon*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 63–118; D. N. Dumville, 'The Corpus Christi "Nennius"', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxv (1972–4), 369–80; Derek Baker, 'Scissors and paste: Corpus Christi, Cambridge, 139 again', *Studies in Church History*, xi (1975), 83–123. Elsewhere, I hope to argue that some at least of the sections which comprise the manuscript originated not, as argued in the above articles, in the Yorkshire Cistercian houses of Sawley or Fountains but in Durham.

⁶ The entry *Sidonius Sollius Panigericus* appears in the catalogue of Carilef books. Turner, advised by M. R. James, took *Panigericus* to mean 'the poems—of which the larger ones were in fact all

panegyrics' of Sidonius; see C. H. Turner, 'The Earliest List of Durham MSS', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, xix (1918), 121–32, at pp. 128–9. If he is correct, there is little difficulty in accepting that the extract on fo. 87^v could have been copied from a collection already in the Durham library. If, however, *Panigericus* is interpreted literally as the copy of a single panegyric, then there is no proof that Carilef's gift included the panegyric on Majorianus. There is likewise no proof that the Carilef book was one of the three volumes of Sidonius noted in the late twelfth-century catalogue (*Catalogi Veteres Librorum Dunelmi*, Surtees Society, vii (1838), 4) or that any of these survived to be numbered among the four volumes of Sidonius in the 1391 and 1416 catalogues (*ibid.*, pp. 31, 108). These two later catalogues supply second folio catchwords from the panegyric on Anthemius; see *Sidonius, Poems and Letters*, ed. W. B. Anderson, 2 vols. (London, 1936), i, 2–57, at pp. 10, 14, 18, 20, with *gignasiis* probably an error for *gymnasiis*.

⁷ *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Dunelmi*, Surtees Society, vii (1838), 4.

⁸ For the books known to have survived from these houses see Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, pp. 177, 191, 197–8, 217. No twelfth-century books are known to have survived from Whitby. Selby is represented in Ker by one twelfth-century book, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax 12; this, however, has an ex-libris from as late as the seventeenth century. Those books from Tynemouth and St. Mary's, York which I have considered are Pembroke College, Cambridge, 82, B.L. Harley 3847, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Laud misc. 4, Corpus Christi College,

is not necessary to support d'Ardenne's hypothesis, based on the assumption of a Kirkstall origin, that Liège represents the type of sparsely decorated manuscript produced in Cistercian houses after 1152.¹ The decoration of Liège is not in fact especially spartan,² less so than, for example, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS. e Mus. 195 or Laud misc. 216, other twelfth-century manuscripts attributed to Kirkstall, nor should artistic restraint in itself necessarily suggest a Cistercian origin.³ If, on the other hand, Liège was written early in the third quarter of the twelfth century, as Ker suggests, then it seems a remarkably able production for a community founded as recently as 1152, if it is thought to have actually originated at Kirkstall.

As the absence of names after that of Geoffrey Rufus seems to indicate, it may be argued that the manuscript left Durham some time between his consecration in August 1133 and the consecration of William of Ste Barbe in June 1143. There is thus a gap of at least nine years between the manuscript leaving Durham at the latest in 1143 and reaching Kirkstall at the earliest soon after its foundation in 1152, at the latest when the ex-libris was added towards the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. There is even a gap of at least four years if the manuscript was owned by the Kirkstall community on its original site at Barnoldswick between 1147 and 1152. It was probably at a Yorkshire house that the list of archbishops of York was extended. After Thurstan, the names of William Fitzherbert, Henry Murdac, and Roger of Bishopsbridge were added by the same hand. This may indicate that the book did not reach Kirkstall (or perhaps another Yorkshire house) until after Roger became archbishop in 1154, or, alternatively, that in the furore of the election dispute, with Fitzherbert's election, ejection, and reinstatement,⁴ the scribe thought it advisable to wait for Fitzherbert's death before committing himself on who held the archbishopric.

If, as the balance of likelihood indicates, Liège University Library, MS. 369 C was written at Durham in the 1120s, it disproves Faral's theory that the *Prophecies of Merlin* were written c. 1134, and supplies the 'conclusive evidence' Clarke sought that they existed separately before 1136. It indicates that they were written early in the career of Bishop Alexander of Lincoln (consecrated 22 July 1123), to whom they were dedicated,⁵ perhaps to gain early favour with the new appointee, as Geoffrey may have attempted with Alexander's successor at Lincoln, Robert of Chesney.⁶ The Liège manuscript may also represent the

Oxford, 134, Cambridge University Library, Ee. 6. 40, B.L. Harley 56.

¹ See T. S. R. Boase, *English Art 1100-1216* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1968), p. 154. I regret that I have not succeeded in finding the main hands in other twelfth-century manuscripts attributed to Durham or other northern houses. D'Ardenne's suggestion that Liège bears a marked palaeographical resemblance to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 139 seems to me unfounded; see d'Ardenne (1966), p. 33.

² See, for example, fo. 130^r, reproduced in d'Ardenne (1969), facing p. 2.

³ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 107. On Cistercian art see Jean Leclercq, *St Bernard et l'esprit cistercien* (Paris, 1975), pp. 20-3.

⁴ For the latest account see Derek Baker, 'San Bernardo e l'elezione di York', in *Studi su S. Bernardo di Chiaravalle, Convegno Internazionale Certosa di Firenze 6-9 Novembre 1974* (Rome, 1975), pp. 115-80.

⁵ Griscom, p. 384, and for a recent study of Alexander see A. G. Dyson, 'The Monastic Patronage of Bishop Alexander of Lincoln', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxvi (1975), 1-24.

⁶ Clarke, pp. 40-2.

earliest definite mention of the author—*Gaufridus monemutensis*¹—since the earliest reference known to Thorpe and Clarke is c. 1129.² Geoffrey's date of birth is perhaps also affected. He died in 1155, and the usual approximation for his birth, 'c. 1100',³ may be a little late if he was known in the north of England not later than 1128. Loomis's theory that the Arthurian tales known to Aelred of Rievaulx by 1142 were not those of Geoffrey of Monmouth may perhaps now be revised, especially when the strength of links between Aelred and Durham is considered.⁴

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¹ Fo. 143^r.

² Thorpe, pp. 40–1; Clarke, p. 28. Geoffrey may, however, appear as *Gaufridus scriba* in a charter of c. 1120 (ibid.), and Thorpe dates one charter between 1125 and 1135 (Thorpe, p. 40).

³ Clark, p. 26.

⁴ R. S. Loomis, 'The Arthurian Legend before 1139', *Romanic Review*, xxxii (1941), 3–38, especially pp. 10–14. See also M. D. Legge, 'Gautier Espec,

Ailred de Rievaulx et la matière de Bretagne', *Mélanges Frappier* (Geneva, 1970), pp. 619–23, especially p. 621. On Aelred and Durham see A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c 550–c 1307* (London, 1974), p. 308; A. Hoste, 'A Survey of the Unedited Work of Laurence of Durham With an Edition of His Letter to Aelred of Rievaulx', *Sacris Erudiri*, xi (1960), 249–65, especially pp. 260–2.